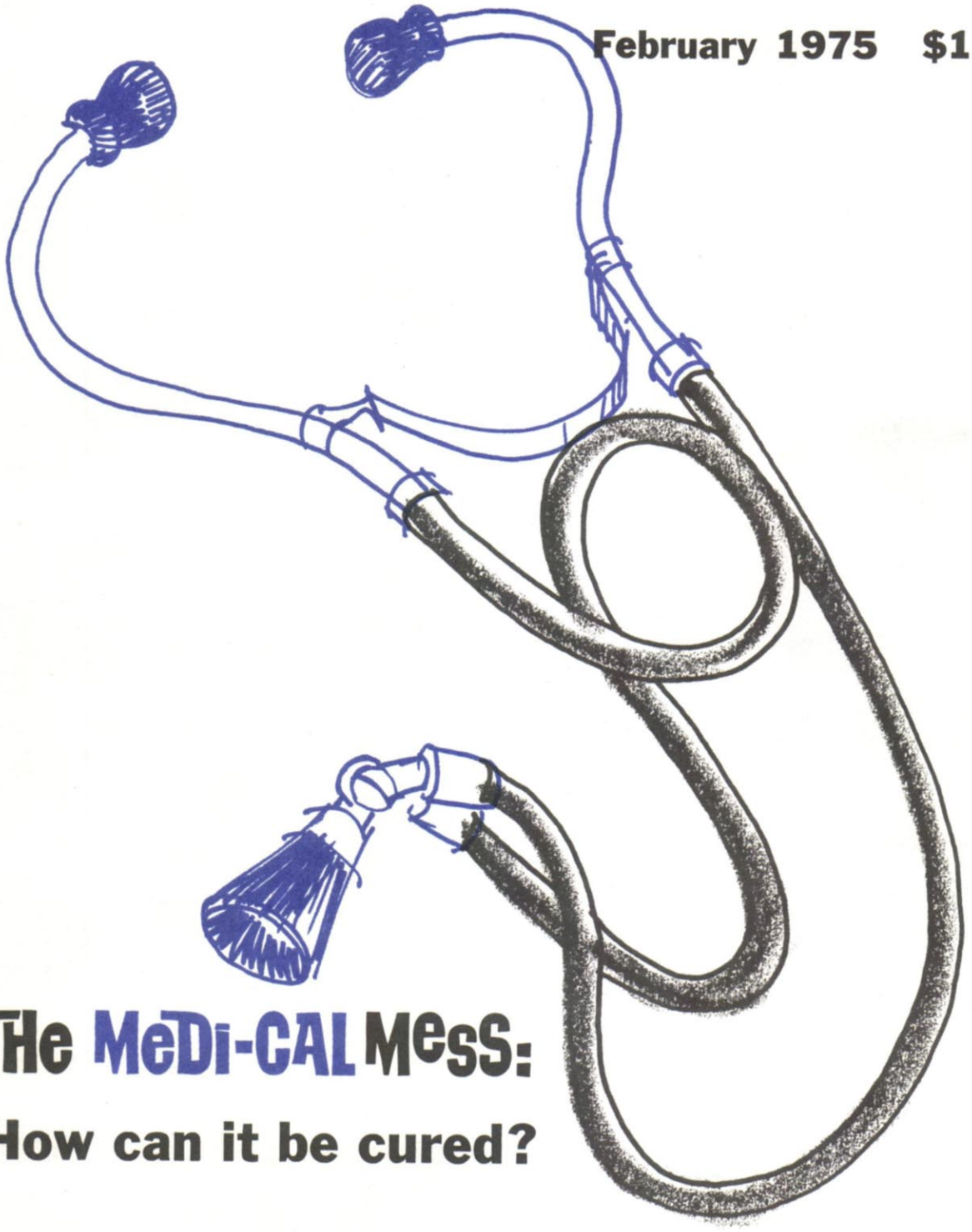
California Journal

THE MONTHLY REPORT ON STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

February 1975 $1.50



The MeDi-CAL MeSS:

How can it be cured?

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT - '75 Roster and Guide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE...

By Ed Salzman

Open-door policy

The foundation of state and local government in California is about to be shaken. Some form of collective bargaining and right-to-strike legislation for public employees will undoubtedly be enacted by the Legislature during 1975. And Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. is solidly on record in favor of such a step. Why is this such an earth-shaking development? For two reasons:

- The level of public spending, and thus of taxation, will be determined in large measure by representatives of worker organizations and public agencies, and not directly by the representatives of the people.
- The level of services to be provided the public by their employees may well be established in these bargaining sessions.

In other words, California will no longer have true representative government. The labor organizations will be as powerful as city councils, school boards, boards of supervisors and the state Legislature. It is possible that at the state level salaries and working conditions will be negotiated by the executive branch and that the Legislature will become a rubber stamp, losing much of its control over the purse-strings. Governmental services and taxation levels will be the product of bargaining between the two groups.

It is just as well at this time to assume that public employees should enjoy full bargaining rights and that most of them, with the possible exception of some health-and-safety workers, should be entitled to strike when bargaining impasses develop. This is a notion whose time has come in the Legislature. But in enacting such a far-reaching measure, the lawmakers must keep in mind some basic differences between the public and private sectors. In private enterprise, representatives of a corporation and the unions sit down to work out a contract. The corporation president or board of directors approves the final management offer before it is put on the table. If it seems agreeable to the labor negotiators, the entire package is then put before their membership for a vote. Both sides thus bring the deal to those directly affected before it can be consummated.

Compare this with what would happen in a public-agency collective-bargaining situation. The labor side could be in almost the same position, putting the contract to a vote of the membership before final acceptance. But what of the management side? The true employers are the taxpayers of the state, county, city or special district. Obviously, the voters will not get the right to approve each contract. And if present trends are continued, they won't even get to know what's in the pay-and-benefits package until after the deal is struck.

A step toward informing the public was taken last year with enactment of a bill by Assemblyman John Vasconcellos requiring school boards to issue periodic public reports on the progress of "meet and confer" sessions with teacher organizations. The state League of Women Voters, which has not taken a position on collective bargaining in general, is concerned about the secrecy of bargaining sessions and is urging that the principle of the Vasconcellos bill be applied to all collective-bargaining measures approved by the Legislature. But that approach does not go nearly far enough.

An unfortunate practice has developed giving labor negotiators for public agencies the right to meet behind closed doors under a lawyer-client relationship. But this does not take into consideration the fact that these management negotiators work for the people and that the client is not the city council, school board or board of supervisors but rather the taxpayers at large. All collective-bargaining sessions involving public agencies, therefore, should be held in full public view, with any citizen or representative of the communications media allowed to attend. This would at least give citizens a chance to keep informed, step by step, of how many of their tax dollars might be spent to provide just what public services. It would give the public a chance to tell its representatives how it felt before any contract was signed, before it became too late. It would be the public as well as the governing body deciding whether to accept a strike.

* * *

This proposal for public-negotiating sessions will undoubtedly meet the same kind of argument that kept the annual legislative conference committee on the budget behind closed doors: Wheeling, dealing and horse-trading cannot be accomplished in public view. But the doors to the budget conference have been opened, and it turns out that this vital piece of the public's business can be done in the open. And so can collective bargaining.

What would be the result of public negotiations? In all probability, it would eliminate much of the gamesmanship that starts with the labor side making outrageous demands and management making an unreasonable wage offer. With the public watching, both sides might well get right down to business with a middle-ground compromise fair to all — especially to the citizens, who are paying the salaries and consuming the services provided by California's high-caliber public employees.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal
THE MONTHLY REPORT
ON STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Volume VI, Number 2
February 1975

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

MANAGING EDITOR
Bruce Keppel

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT:
Lou Cannon

ART: Ric Hügo, Tom Zanze, Jan Castle

SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER:
Barbara Aguirre

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, which presents a non-ideological analysis of California government and politics, is published monthly by the California Center for Research and Education in Government, a nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation.

Publication of the *Journal* is assisted by grants from Adolph's Foundation, Michael J. Connell Foundation, Crown Zellerbach Foundation, Ford Foundation, Janss Foundation, LARAS Fund, and Natomas Company.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
EUGENE C. LEE, chairman, director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley.
JUDSON CLARK, California Research, Sacramento.
NATHANIEL S. COLLEY, attorney and NAACP western regional counsel, Sacramento.
DORMAN L. COMMONS, president, Natomas Company, San Francisco.
JAMES W. HALLEY, attorney and former Republican State Chairman, San Francisco.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.
BERNARD HYINK, professor of political science, Fullerton
EVELYN P. KAPLAN, president, League of Women Voters of California, San Mateo.
ROSELLEN KERSHAW, past president, American Association of University Women, Fresno.
EDWIN MEESE III vice president, Rohr Industries, Chula Vista.
JOHN V. NEWMAN, president, Utt Development Corp. and board chairman, The Irvine Company.
EMILY G. PIKE, businesswoman, San Francisco.
MADELEINE H. RUSSELL, San Francisco.
JUDGE BRUCE SUMNER, Judicial Council of California.
MAYOR PETE WILSON, San Diego.
EX OFFICIO (Co-founders): Jerome Evans, Victor H. Fazio, William Geyer.
COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein.

Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $50; Special Individual Rate, $15.

Copyright 1975 by California Center for Research and Education in Government, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone: (916) 444-2840. Second class postage paid at Sacramento.

Contents

The Medi-Cal Mess

Ronald Reagan tried twice to get a handle on the constantly rising costs of the state's administration of the national health-care program. On leaving the governorship he conceded defeat. Can a cure be found?

Bringing the program under control 40
By Robert Fairbanks

What went wrong with the prepaid plans? 43
By Terry M. McGann

Commander Phil and the children's crusade 47
By Leo Rennert

Congressman Burton wins no popularity contests but knows where power in the House lies and how to wield it. California's seven freshman representatives, as young as they are junior, were pivotal in helping the San Franciscan crack the tradition of seniority.

Brown's new executives 51
By Bruce Keppel

Women in the cabinet, a Chicano heading an agency, blacks leading departments, campaign aides in key environmental posts . . . and youthful new faces everywhere: What will it all mean?

- The new legislative alignment 53

1975 Roster and Guide

The revised version of what has become for many an indispensable tool for keeping up with California government and politics is here at last. Published as an insert annually in the February *California Journal*, the *Roster and Guide* is available as a reprint.

The shape of Brown's first budget 55
By Ed Salzman

The new Governor surprised many by writing the spending program himself. And while it is, at $11.3 billion, another record for state government, the document has echoes of Reagan.

The new Governor's agenda . . . 59
. . . and an appraisal by the opposition 60

The price of a lawmaker's ear 46
By Ray Gonzales

The GOP's road to recovery 58
By Douglas Hallett

Some lessons on the student vote 62
By Jeffrey Hammerling and Linda Bond

Caucus by Hügo 50
Court actions 64
Newsbriefs 65
Newsmakers 66
Selected reports 66
Lou Cannon 67

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MeDi-CaL

Seeking a cure for unbearable costs

Just before leaving office, Governor Ronald Reagan conceded that his attempts to reform the state's expensive Medi-Cal program did not solve the problem. Reagan called for another major reform of the program, and indicated that costs could be shaved by 20 percent if his recommendations were adopted. This is roughly the same indication he gave in 1971 when his first Medi-Cal reform was enacted. Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. declared after taking office that Medi-Cal is the key to whether future tax increases will be needed in California.

What's wrong with Medi-Cal, and why can't its cost be kept under control? These questions are analyzed in the two articles that follow, one by a reporter who has written extensively on the subject, the other by a participant in the health-care industry.

How can the program be brought under control?

By ROBERT FAIRBANKS

In the Venice section of Los Angeles, there's an earnest physician who says he has a remedy for Medi-Cal, the big California program ($2 billion this year) that finances health care for the poor. According to Dr. Bernard Aran, the state should pay a little something to poor people for not going to the doctor. Thus, the number of non-users would increase and total costs would go down.

Aran has his payment system all planned. And while there's no way of knowing whether or not it will work, there's no arguing with his concern for today's high costs, not only in Medi-Cal but in the health-care business as a whole. Moreover, if Congress enacts a national health insurance program (as seems likely), those costs are sure to rise. In fact, if the program is extremely liberal — that is, if it pays for every doctor visit a patient may want or, more importantly, for every treatment a doctor may choose to give — then we may have to sell the army or the national parks to finance it.

The question that Aran and others are raising is: How can a decent level of health care be provided for everyone at something like a reasonable cost? Some answers, including some things to avoid, can be found in the history of Medi-Cal. Medi-Cal's coverage is broad (about 2 million people), providing a sample that probably doesn't behave much differently regarding health care from the population as a whole, and Medi-Cal care is furnished by many of the same doctors, druggists, hospitals and other providers who serve everyone else.

The author, a reporter in the Capital bureau of the Los Angeles Times, *has written extensively on Medi-Cal and its problems.*

Medi-Cal is California's response to the congressional enactment of 1965 that offered matching federal funds to states with approved health programs for the poor. The program, called Medicaid elsewhere, started here in 1966; it was barely under way in January 1967 when Ronald Reagan became governor.

In its original form, Medi-Cal allowed eligible poor persons (mostly welfare recipients) to visit the doctor or other provider of their choice, and guaranteed that the state would pay anything resembling a reasonable bill. As Medi-Cal supporters said at the time, the program would bring the poor into the "mainstream of medicine", where — since payments were assured — providers were pleased to see them. Nobody ever said it would be cheap.

The Reagan administration made its first attempt to cut costs in the latter part of 1967 when, the administration said, Medi-Cal expenses were far exceeding budgeted amounts To hold the line, the administration ordered a major reduction in benefits. Meanwhile, Reagan went to the public, expressing hostility to the program and warning that, if not changed, it would bankrupt the state. But the Legislature failed to act, and the courts nullified the benefit cuts. Later, when the deficits proved to be considerably less than Reagan had forecast, and when they were covered by available revenue in the general fund, the administration seemed both vindictive and inept.

'Fiscal emergency'

Over the next 2½ years, Medi-Cal continued to burgeon but the administration, despite Reagan's earlier call for change, proposed no major reforms. Thus, Reagan's sec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ond attempt at cost-cutting, in December 1970, was like the first: He and the Director of Health Care Services, Earl Brian, declared a fiscal emergency because of a potential deficit and ordered a massive reduction in services. This time, the administration was more successful in making its reductions stick. For it was not until six months later that the courts nullified them. And by that time, Reagan's Medi-Cal reform bill of 1971, which reworked the entire program, was about to become law. But, as the courts said, the process needed falsehood to make it work.

Opponents of the December reductions — the California Rural Legal Assistance and the California Medical Association — charged among other things that the "emergency" declared by Reagan and Brian was not genuine and, therefore, that the cuts were illegal. Their most dramatic evidence was a memo from Brian to the Governor on May 21, 1970, warning that Medi-Cal was underfunded and that unless more money were placed in the program drastic curtailments would have to be made.

When the memo surfaced shortly before its introduction at the trial, Brian said that it was based on conjecture and that it was only coincidence that the deficit amount he predicted in May was almost exactly the amount he was to discover months later. But Sacramento County Superior Court Judge William Gallagher ruled against Brian. In a decision upheld by the state Supreme Court, Gallagher called Brian's contention that the deficit was caused by unexpected caseloads and costs "false" and "not credible". The judge also said, "An emergency does not arise under Government Code 11421 when the evidence shows a culpable failure to avoid events which could have been averted by reasonable action within the time available."

Thus, Reagan's first two efforts at cost-cutting proved once more what most political leaders should know: Once you grant a benefit to somebody, you cannot easily take any part of it away. The people who are hurt will fight, and if you've been sloppy or tricky, it may show.

Round three

Reagan's third attempt at cost-cutting was authorized by the Medi-Cal reform bill of 1971, which Brian lobbied through the Legislature and later put into effect. (In 1972, Reagan promoted Brian, a medical doctor, to secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency. Brian left in January 1974, to seek the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate. Defeated last June, he is teaching at USC.) The reform contained two major features that Brian was to describe later as the "stick and carrot" needed to make a genuinely radical change in Medi-Cal: to switch it from a "fee-for-service" to a "pre-paid" financial system. If Brian had succeeded with that massive change, or had even managed to show that he was well along toward getting it done, he surely would have become one of the most influential medical leaders in the nation. But things have not gone as planned.

"Fee for service," of course, is the traditional method of paying for medical care. Each doctor, dentist or other "provider" works independently, each with his own overhead and each submitting his own bill for services rendered. According to reformers, the system generates high costs not only because it lacks coordination between its parts but because it rewards providers for prescribing unnecessary care. (The more care they prescribe, the more money they make.) Under pre-paid health care, providers organize into units that charge a fixed annual or monthly fee to furnish whatever health care the buyer may need. Therefore, it is said, pre-paid lowers costs through efficiency and by discouraging unnecessary care. (The less treatment prescribed, the more money they make.)

In any case, the Reagan administration encouraged formation of these prepaid units, called them "Pre-Paid Health Plans" or "PHPs", and began issuing contracts to them. Each contract allowed a PHP to enroll up to some maximum number of Medi-Cal eligibles in a particular geographic area. To create competition, many PHPs were assigned to the same area or to overlapping areas. PHPs were paid a monthly "capitation fee" per enrollee. Thus, if the fee were $20, and the PHP had 20,000 enrollees, it would get $400,000 per month from the state to provide whatever health care its enrollees might need.

The stick

The stick that was supposed to drive Medi-Cal eligibles into pre-paid was "prior authorization", a phrase meaning that fee-for-service patients were not to get certain kinds of treatment without prior approval from the state. The concept, like pre-paid, was already part of Medi-Cal, but its role, again like pre-paid's, had not been great. Under Medi-Cal reform, no patient was to get more than two doctor visits or two prescriptions per month without prior authorization. And authorization was not always easy to get. If the treatment was to be costly, or the application form was improperly filled out, the "Medi-Cal consultant" might demand more explanation and paperwork, and might still refuse the request. For private-practice physicians, the process was especially galling, not only because of the paperwork but because their judgments were being challenged.

The carrot

The carrot that was to lure patients into pre-paid was the removal of the stick. Any Medi-Cal eligible who joined a PHP was no longer subject to the fee-for-service sanctions. Furthermore, PHP members were exempted from "copayment", another stick in the 1971 reform. The program (which needed and received a waiver from federal rules) required Medi-Cal eligibles with some financial resources or outside income (about one-third of them) to make a partial payment toward their treatments. The fee was $1 for the first two doctor visits each month and 50 cents for the first two prescriptions. (Described initially as an experiment, copayment ended June 30, 1973.)

The carrot for doctors and other providers was the end of paperwork and the end of sometimes-long waits for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reagan's last call for Medi-Cal changes

Ronald Reagan's New Year's Eve proposals for a "new direction" in Medi-Cal were surprising in that they came from a man who had so often denounced "socialized medicine". Essentially, he proposed that all Medi-Cal eligibles lose their right to visit the doctor, druggist or dentist of their choice; instead, the state would issue a prepaid contract to one (and only one) medical organization in a given geographic area, and all Medi-Cal eligibles would have to go to that organization for care.

The Reagan proposal would require switching from a "fee for service" to a "prepaid" financing system — the goal of the 1971 reform. Organized medicine can be expected to continue support for patient choice, and a switch would require a change in state law as well as a change in or waiver from federal statutes. Welfare rights organizations are also likely to oppose the Reagan package because it also includes making co-payment a permanent part of Medi-Cal and extending it to all who get care.

Other Reagan recommendations included:

- Volume purchase by the state of all drugs and supplies.
- State take-over of the counties' Medi-Cal funding.
- A single standard of measuring income and assets for all beneficiaries.
- Shifting mental-health care from Medi-Cal to the Short-Doyle mental-health-care program.
- Abolition of the fiscal intermediary system.
- Termination of prior authorization and other program controls.

Medical organizations providing care in each geographic area would be called "Organized Health-Delivery Systems" and could be either private or public agencies.

their "fee-for-service" payments, since PHPs get their money in advance. But there was more to the carrot than that; there was also the possibility that anyone who organized a PHP or participated in its development might also make a fortune. For the potential market for PHPs was enormous. There were, of course, the patients on Medi-Cal's rolls, but the Reagan administration was not stopping there. As Reagan said in speeches in 1972, he wanted the PHP program to act as a "change agent" for the health-care business in California and the nation.

Matters of conscience

Once assured of income from the state, PHPs were to expand into the general market, offering their more efficient and lower-cost services to all. Thus, Reagan indicated, taxpayers would be saved from the "socialized" national health-insurance proposals that were then (and still are) before Congress. Also, the Nixon administration had endorsed the pre-paid concept and was promising legislation (since enacted) to encourage its use (At the national level, pre-paids are called "Health Maintenance Organizations" or "HMOs.") Furthermore, the Reagan administration did not put contracts out to bid. In its desire to get the PHP business started, it negotiated each agreement, giving each contractor a capitation fee based on the prevailing "fee-for-service" rates in his area and the administration's assessment of the contractor's needs. And, finally, the administration established few standards, if any, for a contractor's background, financial resources or performance. As a result, nearly any doctor — or nearly anyone with a doctor in tow — could get a contract and be assured of income from the state. Outgo, in the form of money spent on patients, was largely a matter of conscience.

Not surprisingly, visions of profits danced in the heads of many persons in the health-care field. Also, there was golden reality in the form of the small Los Angeles clinic and medical laboratory firm; its stock was worth $1 a share in 1970, but over the next two years the owners (led by three doctors) changed the company's name to HMO International, landed a big PHP contract, and saw the stock rise to $39, an increase of 3,900 percent.

Peddling influence

A few legislators joined the crowd, peddling their influence to those seeking contracts or taking a piece of a PHP firm for themselves. Also, several associates of Brian in the Health Department resigned to work as consultants or in some other role for persons seeking contracts from Brian. Reagan gave one of them, Brian's former top aide, an added boost by appointing him to the Hospital Commission, a job that gave the former aide economic power over the same persons to whom he was selling his consulting and computer services. Reagan appointees on the state Board of Medical Examiners also became involved (and remain involved) in the PHP business.

The administration issued a few contracts in 1971, but the heavy flow started in 1972 and continued through 1973, when 47 contracts were in effect. As the program was getting under way, Brian predicted that PHPs would cover one million Medi-Cal eligibles by mid-1974. But on August 1st, PHP enrollment stood at 239,000, about 14 percent of the 1.7 million eligibles. (So far, the administration has allowed only cash-grant recipients among all Medi-Cal eligibles to enroll in a PHP.) Furthermore, enrollment in Los Angeles, where most contracts are in effect, has failed to grow much during the past year, fluctuating between 15 and 20 percent of the eligibles.

Problems arise

Why has the prepaid program failed to grow as planned? A major cause was the administration's failure to develop and enforce uniformly any financial and performance standards upon its contractors. There was in Sacramento an assumption that a major form of business (PHPs) could be established merely by opening the doors to nearly all comers and then leaving them alone, except for a boost now and then to a favored few. Problems could be worked out later, if necessary. But problems had a way of getting out of hand. For instance, the sticks of "prior authorization" and "co-payment" failed to drive enrollees to PHPs as rapidly as planned. But contractors, permitted to open on a shoestring, needed a heavy flow of enrollees (with their accompanying state dollars) to pay bills, maintain profits and replace the three-to-six percent of other enrollees they lost each month because of the high turnover on Medi-Cal rolls. Thus, contractors began using door-to-door salesmen who swept through poverty areas,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

working on a commission basis and — in many cases — promising anything to Medi-Cal eligibles who would sign.

Reaction of the needy

At headquarters in Sacrameno, the lies and distortions of salesmen became a problem to be solved.(It still exists.) But to the elderly cripple who had been promised transportation to the clinic, and then didn't get it, the lies were immediately converted to rage, anxiety and, perhaps, even pain.

The result was protests, demonstrations, and disenrollment campaigns. These actions, sponsored by groups representing the poor, were often supported by doctors who had been appalled by what they saw. (Also involved were persons who were unsympathetic to the pre-paid concept in the first place and were glad to belabor the program for whatever reason.) The net result was more difficulties in maintaining enrollments.

Had the administration required contractors to maintain adequate financial reserves, much of this might have been avoided. Also, many contractors might have been better able to deal with fiscal hard times of the kind we have now. (The stock in HMO International has sunk back to a few dollars a share.)

Perhaps the administration would have liked to require financial reserves of its contractors. But where would the money have come from? Since the administration dislikes government subsidies (though it did provide two no-interest loans to favored contractors) the money would have to come from big private or corporate investors.

But there are many obstacles to such investments in the health-care field, including organized medicine's insistence (enforced by state law) that only doctors or non-profit groups be allowed to control a medical practice. However, a pre-paid business is a medical practice, so a big corporate investor would have no control over the use of his funds. Consequently, big corporate investors are discouraged and the PHP program has another problem to be solved.

In response to all this, administration officials generally contended that PHP problems would someday be solved and that, meanwhile, Medi-Cal reform was an overall success because it was keeping Medi-Cal costs from rising as rapidly as before. But that contention was always arguable — what about the role of declining welfare caseloads, a falling birth rate and federal price controls? — and it finally fell apart last year when Medi-Cal costs began shooting up again.

Thus, on New Year's Eve 1974, as Reagan prepared to leave office, he issued a statement that sounded remarkably like the Ronald Reagan of eight years earlier. As in 1967, he warned that Medi-Cal costs were rising faster than the state budget could stand, and he once again called for a major overhaul of the program [see box].

Although Reagan didn't say so, one fact was perfectly clear: Nothing he had done as governor had had any permanent impact on Medi-Cal costs. Reagan's greatest chance for permanent impact lay with the PHP program, but he launched it with the same crippling faults that marked his 1967 and 1970 attempts to limit Medi-Cal benefits: He proceeded rashly, showing little concern for details, consequences or the niceties of morality and law.

Whatever the merits of Reagan's stated objectives (including those of his most recent proposals), nothing will be achieved without cooler and more upright leadership than he provided.

What went wrong with prepaid health plans?

By TERRY M. MCGANN

The Medi-Cal Reform Act of 1971 called for the "maximum feasible" development of prepaid health plans as an alternative to the traditional "fee-for-service" system of delivering health care. The Reagan administration argued that, unless alternatives were adopted, California would be bankrupted by rising medical costs and Medi-Cal caseloads. It is not yet clear whether the prepaid-health-plan portion of the Medi-Cal Reform Act will significantly contribute to lowering health-care costs; so far, according to the federal Government Accounting Office, the actual costs have exceeded the "reformed" fee-for-service system.

In any case, nearly a quarter of a million public-assistance recipients are now voluntarily enrolled in more than 60 prepaid plans, and the following article explores why expectations continue to surpass performance.

Controversy has swirled about California's prepaid-health-plan system since its inception in 1971. Among the charges heard are "conflict of interest", "cover-ups", and "shoddy medical care". But apart from examples of abuses of the system, a number of more general criticisms can also be made.

One of these is ineffective administration, which stems in part from an extremely high turnover of membership in the program. Prepaid Medi-Cal health plans (known as PHPs) lose approximately six percent of their eligible members each month. About half of this loss is "voluntary", which usually represents some form of dissatisfaction with the PHP; the remainder constitutes members disenrolled due to loss of eligibility for cash-grant assistance. Though many of these persons regain eligibility for

The author, president of a non-profit health plan in Orange County, conducted a statewide prepaid-health-plan survey while completing work on a Ph.D. at Claremont Graduate School. He previously served as an assistant to state Senator George Moscone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cash-grant assistance within a few months, they are not automatically re-enrolled in the PHP but receive a regular Medi-Cal fee-for-service card. Other persons lose their cash-grant status but still receive financial assistance from the state for medical services, depending on the individual's ability to pay.

The state should develop a system to maximize the opportunity for PHP members to stay enrolled; if this is not done, PHPs with fewer than 15,000 members will not be able to survive financially and still honor the obligations of their contractual commitments with the state. Funds are simply not available to underwrite meaningful health-maintenance programs in the face of such unstable membership.

A 6.2 percent monthly disenrollment means, for example, that if 10,000 persons were enrolled in a PHP and no new enrollments were processed, within one year the program would lose 5,054 members; the 10,000 membership would shrink to 4,946, a loss of more than half. Assuming initial marketing costs of $15 per enrollee, the PHP would have spent $150,000 for the 10,000 members. If no new members were added, however, the $150,000 investment would have produced about 5,000 enrollees by year's end, which would increase the average cost per enrollee from $15 to $30.

Most PHP members are enrolled by door-to-door solicitation, which is both costly and inefficient. The only personal contact permitted by the state is a random house-to-house search for eligible Medi-Cal recipients. This fact alone, if not corrected, will inevitably cause the PHP program in California to fail. The 40-year tradition of prepaid health plans in the United States would not have survived had early pioneers — such as the Ross-Loos Medical Group and Kaiser Permanente — been confronted with such enrollment instability.

Other problems

If membership turnover is the most fundamental problem, there are others that seriously undermine the goals of the Medi-Cal Reform Act. While the state Legislature attempted to correct certain failings in the original legislation, the program still must be administered by a state agency, which will ultimately draft the regulations that carry out the Legislature's intent. And state administration of the PHP program is almost universally condemned.

The state Department of Health's awareness of day-to-day operations in the "field" is extremely limited. The large turnover of leadership and the shuffling of personnel within the department is indicative of an organization in distress. PHPs are required to work closely with the department's "contract managers", whose chief responsibility is dealing with basic communication and operational problems. Familiarity with the PHP and its personnel is essential to this task, and the department's shuffling of its people from position to position has rendered this difficult if not impossible.

The department's management problems could be partially resolved by imposing an immediate moratorium on new contracts for a minimum of one year. This would provide an opportunity for the director to review and evaluate present personnel and policies. A year's moratorium also would permit appraisal of the performance capabilities of the existing PHPs.

'Mom-and-pop' medical plans

The present administration fostered a kind of "mom-and-pop" industry by signing numerous contracts with small groups of physician-entrepreneurs, many of whom were attracted by promises of promoters that PHP contracts would produce huge profits and could be converted as a marketable asset once the surge to "go public" developed. Such under-capitalized prepaid plans lacked the management talent and resources to survive when times got tough, as they are today. And most PHPs now operating in California are of this "mom-and-pop" variety. It is unlikely that many will survive in their present form.

Small PHPs might be able to continue, however, if merged into a larger network; but even this will fail unless well-financed and well-managed companies become involved. The potential risks and management requirements are considerable.

The existing state prepaid program has encouraged maximum competition in the belief that it would increase quality. This assumption has proved erroneous. Los Angeles County, a virtual haven of competition, has been the focal point of the severest attacks by critics of the PHP program. Prepaid health plans often have had more than they could handle just competing with the fee-for-service system, let alone with one another. The field is dominated by small companies and medical groups that are seriously limited in their ability to either acquire one another or grow internally. With few exceptions, it is the marginal operator who has been attracted to the state's prepaid program. The exceptions are important, however, and should not be overlooked.

After nearly seven years of experience with PHPs (including the pilot-project period) the Department of Health has not yet standarized the utilization and cost reports for data-processing and management purposes. Also, there are few criteria developed for evaluating quality of health care, particularly of outpatient care. A meaningful comparison of the fee-for-service system and the prepaid system is, therefore, impossible at this time, and, in the absence of norms, it is highly improbable that one could thoughtfully examine either system individually, let alone comparatively. (The Professional Standards Review Organization represents a possible solution to this problem, but it will not go into effect until January 1976.)

Pilot program

The Legislature should permit profit-seeking firms to enter the field and contract directly with the Department of Health. The exclusivity of the non-profit requirement for PHPs has proved to be inappropriate and unwise. Why should the state not benefit from the talent and resources of the for-profit sector? A "pilot" program could be established with a major for-profit corporation to develop a model PHP with 20,000 to 30,000 members in a defined

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

geographical area. This contract would be awarded on a competitive-bid basis. The pilot program would limit the competition to the alternative fee-for-service system. Therefore, Medi-Cal beneficiaries would still have a choice between the fee-for-service providers or voluntary participation in the prepaid plan.

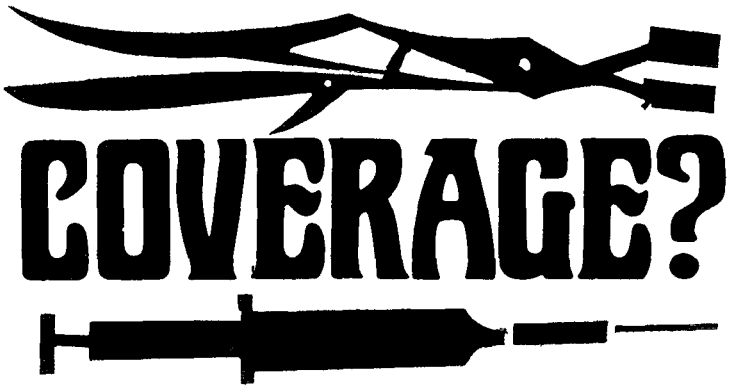
California has a considerable number of established fee-for-service physicians involved in group practice; these physicians are in an excellent position to fulfill the obligations of a prepaid contract because their own medical-delivery system is group practice — and often fully equipped with such key services as labs, X-ray, physical therapy and pharmacies. While a few of these medical groups have chosen to participate, the state should seek their involvement in the PHP program. These medical groups are already very successful and could do much to help stabilize an otherwise shaky program. Their participation would also insure that Medi-Cal patients would receive "mainstream" physician care. Clinics are often either "private" or Medi-Cal, but seldom both. (Presently, there is much concern that PHP members are cared for in strategically located "Medi-Cal-mills" that are without the benefit of a proper mix of private and public-assistance patients.)

Consumer protection

Obviously, an established medical group already occupied with private fee-for-service patients could agree to enroll a specific number of Medi-Cal patients on a prepayment basis without threatening its existing caseload. Such medical groups have no substantial desire to do this presently, however, because the PHP program is so unstable and controversial. Group practice may soon represent the mainstream of health-care delivery in the United States. The solo practitioner may be forced to join a group in order to protect his existing caseload. This possibility has important implications for present fee-for-service group practices because the government may force much of this existing practice into prepayment plans.

Consumers need to be protected from unscrupulous enrollment tactics characteristic of certain PHPs. The Department of Health is beginning to crack down but is still playing favorites. All PHPs, regardless of size or political connections, should be treated in the same manner and held to the same ethical standard.

This is true, too, of rates. The department recently ended a three-year-old policy of "negotiating" different capitation rates with PHPs even though they were in the



same county and often the same service area. Since July 1, 1974, all PHPs in a given county have received identical rates, but only after their present contracts expired. This works a special hardship on plans that signed or renewed contracts just prior to July 1st. If all PHPs were moved to a July 1st contract year, rates would be equally applied.

While the PHP program was intended to be "prepaid", the state's capitation checks are not received by the carriers until mid-month or later. That is just slightly better than normal fee-for-service payment schedules. Also, because most PHPs have such small enrollments, the internal payment of providers is typically accounted for on a fee-for-service basis; this often results in something of a contradiction in both philosophy and accounting.

At a crossroads

The PHP program in California is at a crossroads. The federal Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973 will eventually serve to stabilize development of the PHP concept, but this will take time, perhaps five years or longer. Prepayment and group practice are acceptable and workable means of health-care delivery. There is still hope for California's PHP program, but only if workable and timely solutions to the present deficiencies are forthcoming.

It was said . . .

I don't want San Jose to become more like Los Angeles. I don't want San Francisco to become more like Los Angeles. I don't want San Diego to become more like Los Angeles. I hope we can make Los Angeles less like Los Angeles.

. . . by Senate President pro Tem James Mills, in proposing a two-cents-a-gallon tax increase to help finance rail mass-transit systems in the state's major urban centers.

I don't plan any wild moves, but I'm sure I'm going to keep saying things that will get me in trouble.

. . . by Jesse Unruh, commenting on his return to Sacramento as treasurer.

This is the real world up here, and it's all about compromise. How much you can maximize your position before you sell out, as one of my favorite ACLU attorneys has said.

. . . by Sacramento County's lobbyist, Frank Mesplé, in a profile published by the Sacramento Union.

When you come right down to it, we have a hell of a lot more government in California than when Ronald Reagan came in. And we're paying two cents more in sales tax, and we've implemented withholding tax.

I've got the feeling that the conservatives got the rhetoric and the moderates got the action.

. . .by state Senator H.L. Richardson, in the Wall Street Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The price of a lawmaker's ear

By RAY GONZALES

Since I carried the original lobby-control legislation, AB 786, which was prepared with the assistance of Governor Brown's staff when he served as Secretary of State, and since this bill eventually became Chapter Six of Proposition 9, I feel compelled to respond to Congressman Tom Rees' remarks in the November issue of *California Journal* [see "The ten-dollar trick", p. 395].

The thesis of Rees' commentary was that the noon luncheon tradition of Sacramento (Derby Club, Clam and Choral, Moose Milk, etc.) and other forms of wining and dining guarantee that there will be communication between legislator and special-interest lobbyist. He insisted that "for laws to be written there has to be communication among all parties — lawmaker, constituents, colleagues and people or interests affected by a change in law."

Ray Gonzales

I certainly have no quarrel with this statement. In fact, during my two short years in Sacramento, I attempted to promote this type of communication by insisting on a strict open-door policy. Neither constituent nor lobbyist was required to make an appointment to see me in my office. On the other hand, if Congressman Rees believes the Derby Club to be the best place for the free exchange of ideas between lawmakers and lobbyists, one might ask why membership to the Derby Club is by invitation only. I was not invited to join. Nor were other legislators who were publicly critical of the wining-and-dining circuit. Indeed, female legislators are still not invited to join. Neither are blacks. Some Chicano members were just recently declared acceptable. If the Congressman truly feels that such an institution as Derby Club results in better legislation, then we should insist that it be open to all members.

Congressman Rees declared in his article that "at times I got more bills through at Derby Club than in a dozen committee rooms." If this indeed was the case with the former state legislator, it perhaps may be true of other legislators. Perhaps the business of state could more effectively be conducted at Posey's, Ellis', the Firehouse, Frank Fat's or any of the other fine Sacramento restaurants. And if the lobbyist picked up all the tabs, we could lock up the committee rooms, fire consultants, secretaries and sergeants, and conduct all legislative business in public pubs and dining rooms. This surely would be a tremendous tax savings for the State of California.

It may be true that much legislative business is conducted at lunch or dinner in Sacramento and at other more glamorous settings, such as Lake Tahoe or La Paz, Mexico. But if one is to believe the promoters of the lunches and the trips, the purpose of these affairs is not to discuss legislation but rather to get to know the legislators. In fact, I was told repeatedly by third-house members that they simply wanted to get acquainted. This is all well and good, but what in fact happens is that the intimacy that develops between the third house and the Legislature becomes the subject of intense public scrutiny. It leads to exaggeration by the press, suspicion by the general public and, ultimately, to a sense of persecution on the part of lobbyist and legislator. In reality, what we are discussing here is not a situation that results in outright violations of the law or of political propriety. What we are discussing is, in essence, a question of degree, the degree to which an elected or appointed official will go in a relationship with the special-interest lobby groups and the effects of this relationship on a suspicious public.

The public is concerned today about the relationship that exists between special interests and government officials. And since the general public and the more poorly funded grassroots consumer groups do not have the means to carry on an extensive wining-and-dining operation of their own, they seem to be at a disadvantage in competing for the legislator's ear.

Perhaps, the biggest shortcoming of the California lobby law prior to Proposition 9 was that it was both ambiguous and devoid of clear guidelines. There was, for example, no prohibition on a lobbyist's giving gifts of any value to a legislator. The entire membership of the California Legislature last year received a pound of butter from a local dairy. This, of course, was certainly not enough to win favors nor was it intended to do so, but what can be said of an all-expenses-paid trip to Mexico? Or a weekend at Lake Tahoe?

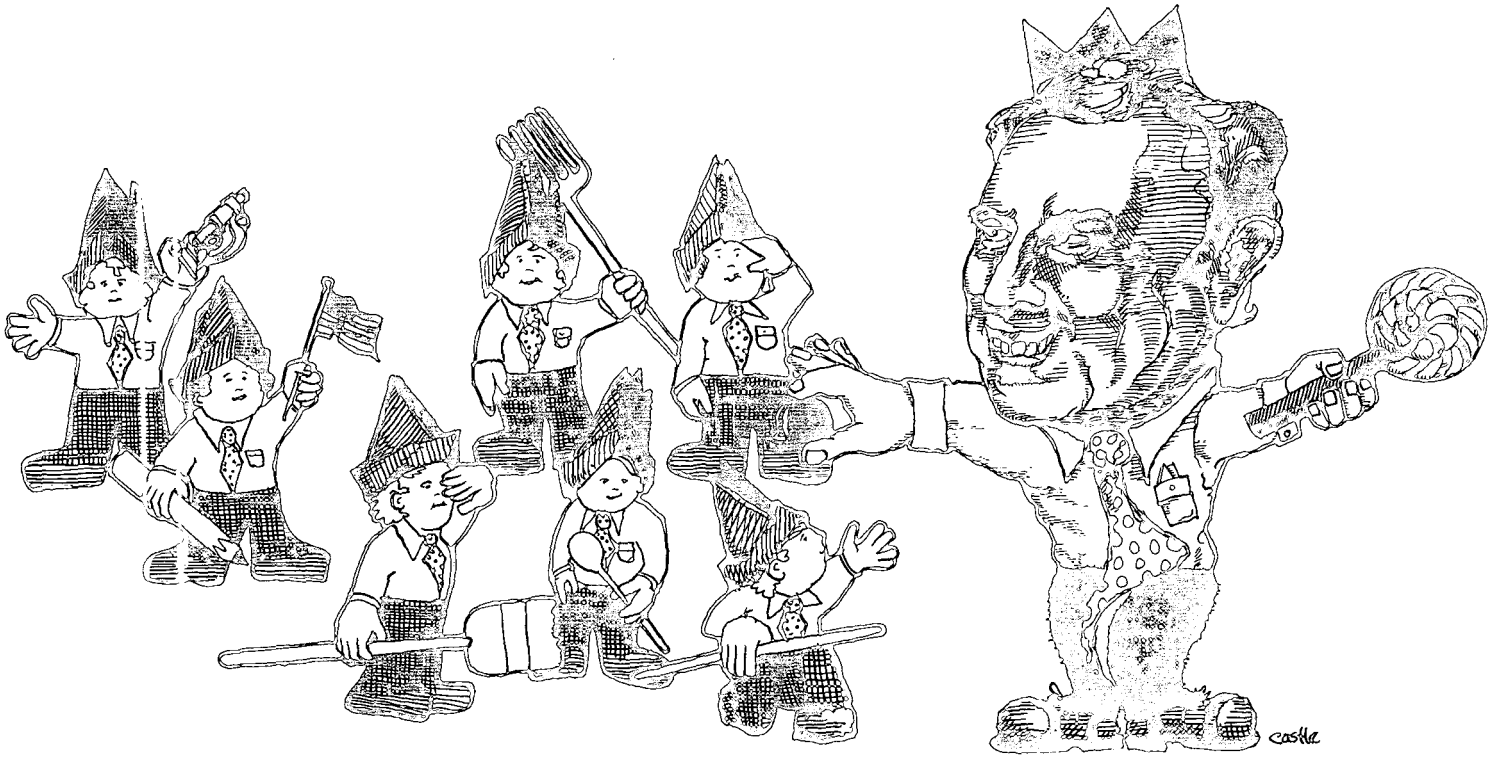
* * *

Congressman Rees should recognize that the true virtue of Proposition 9 is that it ends all the ambiguity in the law. Chapter Six makes it quite clear that "it is unlawful for a lobbyist to make a contribution or to act as an agent or intermediary in the making of any contribution. It is unlawful for lobbyists to make gifts to one person aggregating more than $10 in a calendar month. It is unlawful for any person knowingly to receive any contribution or a gift which is made unlawful under this article." There appears to be little ambiguity in this language.

In essence, what the new law does is to insure that all citizens can compete on more equal terms for the public official's time and consideration. If Congressman Rees truly feels that "the important thing will be to keep the legislative branch in Sacramento from becoming isolated from itself and from the world," he should recognize that this is most likely to happen if the archaic and somewhat exclusive traditions such as Derby Club and Moose Milk go the way of other questionable political traditions. Then, perhaps, we can truly begin to open up the political process to the less financially potent segments of society.

The author, elected to the Assembly in 1972 and defeated in 1974, has developed a reputation as an outspoken foe of the wining and dining of legislators by lobbyists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Commander Phil Burton and the 'Children's Crusade'

By LEO RENNERT

Three weeks after the November 5th elections, California Democratic congressmen gathered in a small meeting room on the first floor of the House wing of the United States Capitol to divide the spoils of their increased strength. The session, off limits to the press, focused on two big prizes — an extra seat on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee and another on Appropriations. Membership on these panels is a certified sign of power on Capitol Hill. The waiting line usually is long and, while the seniority system held sway, was no place for ambitious upstarts.

California Democrats had good reason to list the two committee trophies at the top of their agenda. They had gained four seats at the polls. Come the New Year, with an expanded roster of 28, they would be the biggest Democratic delegation in a House controlled by a lopsided Democratic majority of 291. The time had come to gather in the harvest. Or so thought most participants when the November 26th meeting got under way.

But there was to be a spoiler. Representative Phillip Burton of San Francisco noted that only holdover members were on hand. All seven incoming freshmen were absent. In addition to the four California winners in districts previously controlled by the GOP, the absentees included three other newcomers set to succeed retiring Democratic incumbents. Burton argued that vital decisions affecting California's interests in the new Congress should not be made without this group, which after all would comprise 25 percent of the delegation's strength.

Despite some grumbling by senior members, Burton prevailed. A decision was put off until the following week, when the new crop of House Democrats was due in Washington for a party caucus to select leaders and revise parliamentary ground rules for the next two years.

Minor revolution

When the delegation met again during the morning of December 2nd, this time with all seven newcomers, Republican Fortney Stark of Oakland was given the nod to go on Ways and Means. A junior congressman completing his first term, Stark, 43, topped two senior colleagues — George Brown of Colton and Glenn Anderson of Harbor City — after two rounds of secret balloting. He beat Brown, 54, a fifth-termer, in the runoff, 15 to 11.

Stark's victory was a minor revolution. In the past, choice committee assignments usually were distributed on the basis of seniority. Free-wheeling contests to decide such matters were practically unheard of. The newcomers, who cast the deciding ballots, obviously were unimpressed by tradition.

Stark's precedent-shattering selection, however, was only the first act. That afternoon, at a meeting of all House Democrats, Burton scored an easy win over Republican B. F. Sisk of Fresno in the leadership contest for caucus chairman. Riding the tide of anti-seniority reforms, the 48-year-old San Franciscan defeated Sisk, 64, by a vote of 162 to 111. With fewer than 11 years of service in the House, Burton had sidelined a 20-year veteran.

The next day, with youth still claiming its full share of the action, California Democrats picked Republican Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles for the state's new spot on Appropriations. The 42-year-old congresswoman, finishing her first term, topped a field of four contenders. She also happened to have given the principal nominating speech for Burton in the party caucus 24 hours earlier.

In quick succession, Burton had demonstrated his rising power in the House and in the delegation. In each instance, his main weapon was the big influx of Democratic newcomers, unfettered by seniority and eager to play important legislative roles. There were 75 of them — more than one-fourth of the Democrats' entire strength in the House. With their help, he bulldozed the old order and carved a clear path toward majority leader or, perhaps, speaker.

While it probably signaled the most dramatic revolt on Capitol Hill since Speaker Joe Cannon was dethroned in 1911, the Burton-led "children's crusade" was not a sud-

---

Leo Rennert covers the California congressional delegation for the Sacramento, Fresno and Modesto Bees.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

den phenomenon. An expert on political demography, the ambitious San Francisco congressman had carefully assessed the pattern of rising Democratic strength in the country long before November 5th. He astutely picked districts where Republican incumbents seemed most vulnerable and offered assistance to their Democratic challengers. By his own estimate, he helped channel campaign money into about 100 such districts. Some funds came from the Democratic Study Group, a coalition of House liberals formerly headed by Burton, others from labor unions that recognized his ability to pick "promising" switch-over districts. "I helped a great number of these guys to get some money they otherwise wouldn't have gotten," Burton remarked recently.

Political realities

But it wasn't just gratitude for campaign help that drew the newcomers to him. Most are from traditional Republican areas and realize that Watergate and a sagging economy had more to do with their victories at the polls than anything they themselves did or said. To get re-elected in 1976, they strongly believe that they must show their voters back home quick and impressive results — assignments to important committees and congressional action that can make a palpable difference in their constituents' standards of living. Because he was more tradition-bound and allied with the party's older, conservative factions, Sisk obviously was not their man. Burton, on the other hand, offered hope of pumping new life into a moribund leadership, loosening the grip of senior committee chairmen and permitting the new crop of freshmen to make their legislative mark right from the start.

Sam Rayburn's famous advice to young members — "To get along, go along" — was a laughable anachronism to this bunch.

In the balloting for caucus chairman, Burton barely edged out Sisk among holdover Democrats. But he captured almost 90 percent of the freshman vote. His future leadership prospects thus are tied directly to the 1976 survivability of the class of 1974. And, as he readily acknowledges, that will be determined by the performance of the 94th Congress.

Moving up

To improve the odds, Burton helped break the conservative grip on Ways and Means, which not only drafts tax bills but also calls the shots on health, welfare, social security, unemployment and trade legislation. His main objectives for the expanded and liberalized committee are tax reform and a national health-insurance program. This is the minimum package, he believes, Democrats must present to the country by 1976 if they are to hold on to their congressional gains.

Then, if events still run according to the Burton scenario, Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma should be ready for retirement at 68, Majority Leader Thomas (Tip) O'Neill of Massachusetts, now 62, may move up to the No. 1 spot, and Burton will be in line for majority leader.

Said Burton, without a trace of hesitation: "When Carl leaves, I will run for majority leader. And I will win."

Even so, some colleagues think he is too modest and may be setting his sights too low. Representative Robert Leggett of Vallejo is among those who believe that Burton could make it to the No. 1 position in a single jump. "If Phil does a better job than Tip, Phil could be speaker," Leggett asserted.

Burton said he has no intention of challenging O'Neill for the top spot once Albert steps down. But he does concede that, if O'Neill were to decide for some reason to stay put as majority leader, "then obviously I would have to take a look at the speakership."

In reaching for these heights, Burton is relying on a hard-headed pragmatism that permits him, while pursuing liberal goals, to make deals and build coalitions with the most conservative elements in his party. During the Nixon administration, while Democrats were tearing themselves apart over Vietnam and busing, Burton quietly worked out quid pro quo agreements with Southerners on economic matters. In exchange for liberal support for subsidies to big cotton farms, he got their votes to pay compensation to coal miners suffering from black-lung disease, to permit striking workers to sign up for food stamps, and to increase minimum-wage benefits. Even then, he was trying to rebuild the old FDR coalition based on bread-and-butter politics.

Today, with the economy in its worst shape since FDR's days, Burton senses an even greater opportunity for such party-unifying efforts. In another demonstration of practical power politics, Burton in January helped save the House Administration Committee chairmanship of Ohio Representative Wayne Hays, a nemesis to Common Cause and many liberals. Hays, however, helped Burton become caucus chairman, and the two have formed a common power base. When some anti-Burton forces in the leadership and the Steering Committee tried to dethrone Hays, Burton showed his muscle with a rescue operation that saved Hays' neck the following day in the caucus. In two important tests of strength, the Burton forces won, 176 to 109 and 161 to 111.

"He's philosophically liberal, yet extremely practical and very sharp," says former Representative Julia Butler Hansen, a Democrat from Washington. "He's a typical Westerner. He can't stand pussy-footing and suffers stupidity with very little patience."

Assets and liabilities

Almost universally, his colleagues think his greatest asset is an energetic, single-minded pursuit of any given

California's seven well-placed freshmen

The "children's crusade" led by Congressman Phillip Burton of San Francisco resulted in California's seven freshmen Democratic representatives receiving choice committee assignments. The congressmen (average age 42, compared to 57 for the men they replaced) and their committees:

George Miller of Martinez, 29, attorney; Education and Labor, and Interior.

Norman Mineta, 43, former mayor of San Jose; Public Works and Civil Service.

John Krebs, 47, former Fresno County supervisor; Agriculture and Small Business.

Henry Waxman, 35, of Los Angeles, former assemblyman; Commerce and Science.

Mark Hannaford, 49, former mayor of Lakewood; Banking and Veterans.

Jim Lloyd, 52, former mayor of West Covina; Armed Services and Science.

Jerry Patterson, 39, former mayor of Santa Ana; Banking and Merchant Marine.

Mineta, Krebs, Hannaford and Lloyd won seats formerly held by Republicans, while Miller, Waxman and Patterson succeeded Democrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legislative or political objective. "He's got prodigious energy and politics is his whole life," remarked Representative Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego. "For him, pillow talk probably consists of reviewing the latest voter registration figures in Ventura County."

Burton's main weakness may be the other side of this coin. "Phil is sometimes so intense he wears people out," said former Representative Jerome R. Waldie of Antioch, who has known Burton since they served together in the California Legislature. "You can only stand his intensity for so long and then you become uncomfortable. He seems to be uninterested in you, preoccupied as he is with his own thoughts and projects."

This lack of social finesse and grace, which even his admirers rate as his Achilles' heel, surfaced during the hectic December caucus. When holdover members of Ways and Means tried to recoup some of their power at the expense of newcomers, Burton warned, within earshot of reporters, that they had better desist or "we will whack their ass." The widely reported remark produced a strong counter-reaction in the caucus and led to one of Burton's few setbacks on the next reform vote. "If Phil mellows a bit, there's no limit to how far he can go," observed Van Deerlin. "But the House won't stand for anyone who's going around whacking asses."

Still, Burton's inelegantly worded threat did prevent senior members from monopolizing the most important subcommittee assignments on Ways and Means, and thus served to protect the interests of newcomers — his main power-base. Whatever his colleagues may think, Burton tends to rate results ahead of popularity and to minimize the importance of popularity in his climb up the ladder.

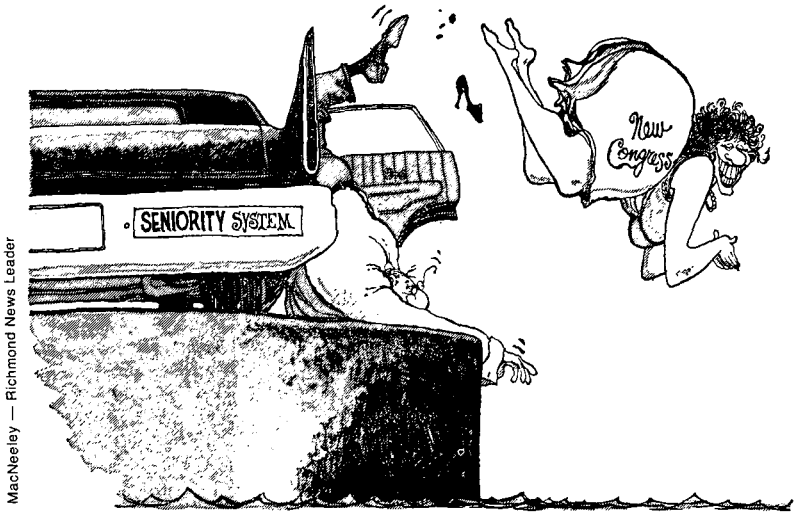
There are other pitfalls and snares ahead. The Ford White House is not about to endorse Burton's domestic programs. Some committee chairmen opposed to his reforms remain in power. House GOP Leader John Rhodes is prepared to join forces with anti-Burton Democrats anytime they give him the signal. The Senate may revert to its old conservative role and, with filibusters stoppable only by a two-thirds majority, could dilute or defeat progressive House-passed bills. And there is no assurance that the cohesion displayed by the new freshman class will hold up.

McFall's rise

In the meantime, however, Burton has become such a dominant new factor in the House that he has all but eclipsed California's other member of the leadership team — Majority Whip John McFall.

Unlike Burton, who was elected by the caucus, McFall is an appointee who serves at the pleasure of Albert and O'Neill. A protégé of former Speaker John McCormack and with close ties to the old guard, the 56-year-old Manteca lawmaker openly backed Sisk against Burton in the caucus race. Some Burton supporters retaliated with a proposal that would have required that the whip be elected by the caucus. Albert and O'Neill, who were scrupulously neutral in the Burton-Sisk fight, stepped in and managed to quash the anti-McFall move. However, McFall appears to have reached the end of the line in the leadership hierarchy. He may survive as whip, but any prospect for promotion evaporated when Burton moved in. (In the past, the whip was almost an automatic stepping-stone to majority leader and speaker.) And were Burton to move up to majority leader or speaker in 1976, McFall's leadership days could be numbered.

Yet, McFall still thinks that over the next two years he can recoup and successfully challenge Burton for majority leader. He hopes that the newcomers gradually will come



MacNeeley — Richmond News Leader

'W h e e e e ! '

to appreciate his services as floor whip and that Burton's star may fade. Whatever the outcome, one thing is certain: One of the two Californians in the leadership sooner or later will have to make way for the other. A Burton-McFall co-existence or detente is out of the question.

Power shifts

Most California Democratic lawmakers, who seethed under the tyranny of senile chairmen, are part of the new Burton tide and welcome the younger, more liberal outlook of the House. But a few, like Sisk and McFall, are discovering that their strength has been reduced by sudden power shifts. For example, Sisk's pivotal position on the Rules Committee, which controls access to the floor for all major legislation, is threatened by a caucus decision to give the leadership tighter control of the panel. In addition, Sisk has lost his seat on the Agriculture Committee, which has been packed with Democratic newcomers. One of them happens to be Fresno's other congressman, freshman John Krebs, 47, who wisely took a neutral position in the Sisk-Burton contest and landed on the plus side of the generational change. Other veterans in the delegation who may find some of their power slipping as the new, younger establishment takes over include Harold Johnson of Roseville, James Corman of Van Nuys and Charles Wilson of Hawthorne.

Also not immune from some decline in influence is the delegation's new chairman, Sacramento's John Moss, 59, although he currently seems to be at the height of his power. A 22-year veteran, Moss moved into the senior California spot when Chet Holifield of Montebello retired after 32 years. Moss is the only other Californian to serve with Burton and McFall on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, which has been given expanded powers under the new reform rules to determine legislative priorities and to assign members to committees.

Losing ground

Moss has ambitious plans to turn California Democrats into a cohesive unit capable of fully exploiting their increased numerical strength. He would like to work with the state's 15-member GOP delegation on mass transit, off-shore drilling and other California issues that may lend themselves to bipartisan cooperation. He also hopes to establish a close relationship with Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. But whether Moss can in fact generate more teamwork among his often fractious colleagues remains to be seen.

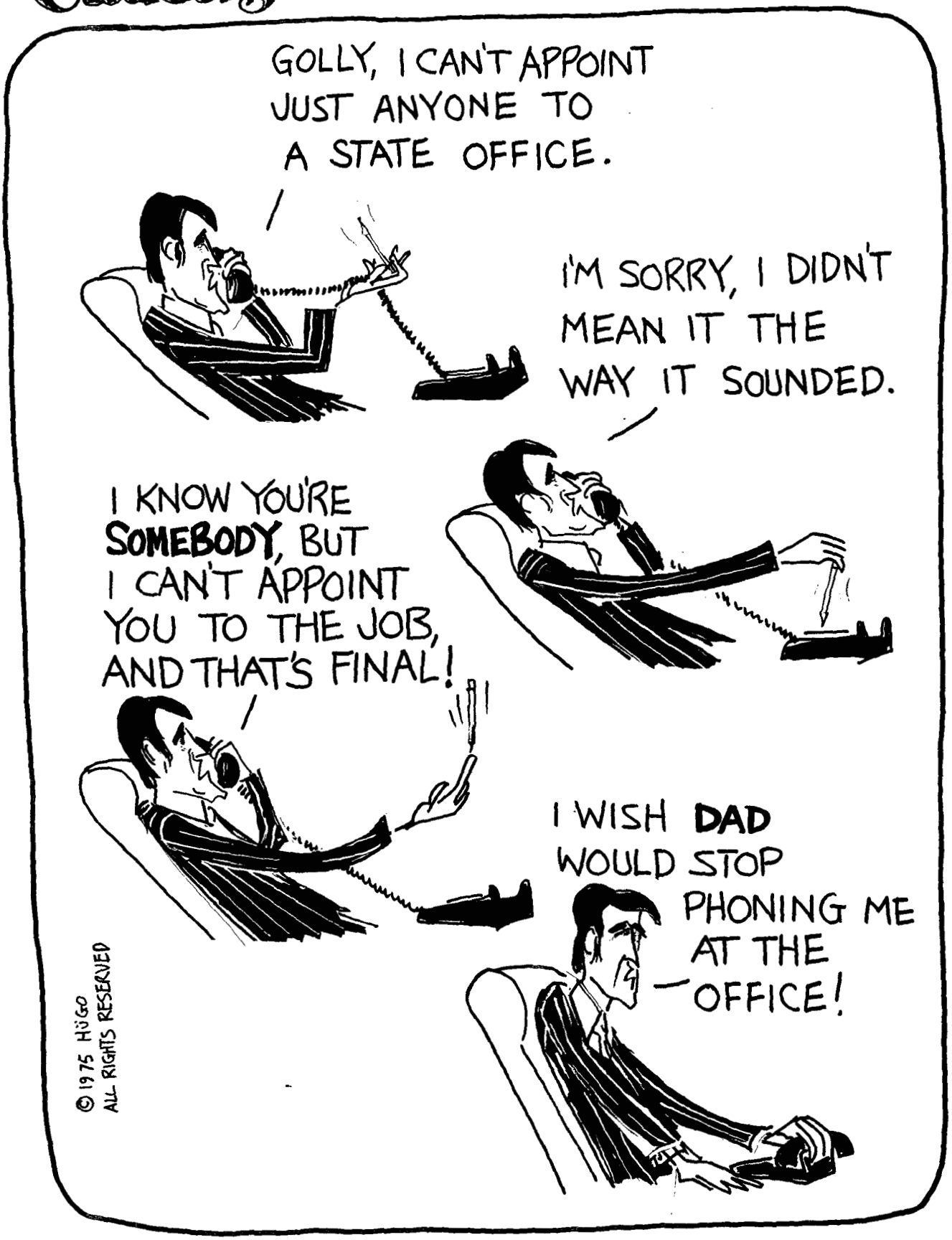
Moss worked hard before the start of this session to assure good committee assignments for California's freshmen. But he also caused some resentment among

Please see **CONGRESS**, page 63.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Caucus

by HÜGO


GOLLY, I CAN'T APPOINT JUST ANYONE TO A STATE OFFICE.
I'M SORRY, I DIDN'T MEAN IT THE WAY IT SOUNDED.
I KNOW YOU'RE SOMEBODY, BUT I CAN'T APPOINT YOU TO THE JOB, AND THAT'S FINAL!
I WISH DAD WOULD STOP PHONING ME AT THE OFFICE!
© 1975 HÜGO ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The new executives

Women in the cabinet . . . Chicano agency chief . . . Blacks heading departments . . . Campaign aides in key environmental posts . . . Young lawyers everywhere

By BRUCE KEPPEL

When Ronald Reagan moved into the corner office of the State Capitol in January 1967, the self-styled "citizen-politician" sought to bring the administrative genius of American free enterprise to bear upon the affairs of state. Reagan's successor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., despite the Reaganesque echoes some heard in his inaugural and budget messages, is seeking to bring what he called "a new spirit" to Sacramento. As Brown fleshes out the spectral shape conjured up on the campaign trail, sharp differences between the two administrations emerge:

- Where Reagan felt comfortable with a bright young physician heading the "people programs" of health, welfare and corrections, Brown has brought in a Mexican-American, Mario Obledo, who has been on welfare, lost two brothers under care of public institutions, had relatives in prison, and sued the agency he now heads.
- Where Reagan went for the proven public administrator to deal with job programs and welfare, Brown has brought in two lawyers who have represented the poor and the needy — Robert Gnaizda, Obledo's chief deputy, and James Lorenz, founder of California Rural Legal Assistance, a particular *bête noire* of the Reagan administration.
- Where Reagan's top aides were invariably male, Brown has made half his agency secretaries and one-third of his cabinet female (Rose Elizabeth Bird, secretary of agriculture and services, and Claire Dedrick, secretary of resources).

Both administrations share an affinity for bringing new faces to government, however. Brown explained the philosophy underlying his appointments: "I think that government, if it is going to be a government of the people, reflects not expertise, pedigrees, conventional wisdom and what the particular 'poobahs' in that area may think is important or unimportant."

The Chicano flap

That philosophy promptly ruffled some feathers in an unlikely quarter. No sooner had Brown announced Obledo's appointment as secretary of health and welfare — the first time that a Chicano had served as a top administrator and in a job having considerable impact on minority groups — than two Mexican-American assemblymen took issue. Brown, said Assemblymen Richard Alatorre and Art Torres, had made the appointment to a person from outside California. (Obledo is a resident of Texas though presently on leave from the Harvard Law School faculty). Worse, Brown had failed to consult Mexican-Americans, namely them.

Torres and Alatorre were indeed speaking for themselves in their criticism, said Assemblyman Joseph Montoya, chairman of the six-member Chicano Caucus. Montoya called his colleagues' pronouncement "unfortunate". "They should have withheld judgment," he asserted.

Brown didn't hesitate to defend both his choice and his procedure. First, he didn't see Torres or Alatorre as any more representative of the Mexican-American "community" than he felt representative of the Irish Catholics in his graduating class at San Francisco's St. Ignacius High. Moreover, he added, it was he who had sought out Obledo, and he wasn't doing it under an affirmative-action or quota system. "I am very skeptical of so-called experts, geniuses and self-annointed committees representing minorities, intellectuals or special interests," Brown said. "I represent the people. I particularly represent the 54 percent that didn't vote because they are so fed up with the fun and games that have been going on for the last few years." He vowed to end the "days of elitism in government."

While Brown's appointments came rapidly as January progressed, a good many are yet to come. The Governor withdrew some 40-odd names Reagan had sent to the Senate for confirmation; through Reagan's right-hand-man, Edwin Meese III, he asked department heads to stay in place "for a brief period of time in order to continue the transitional process for the governmental activities under your jurisdiction."

Still, by February the orientation of the new regime seemed to be fairly clearly defined, On the one hand, Brown's budget and the uncertain economic situation under which it will unfold foresee no new taxes and allow for little new money for sweeping legislative programs; as a result, Year One of the Brown administration will be marked by executive action and the widest possible latitude under existing law and available funds. There is precedent for such behavior in Brown's term as secretary of state in vigorously enforcing election and campaign-reporting laws. [See "New Faces of 1975," *CJ*, December 1974.] On the other hand, while boondoggling will be no more tolerated under Brown than it was under Reagan, the emphasis will be on delivering state services to those who qualify for them rather than highlighting abuses of the program, such as Reagan did by stressing "welfare fraud".

Brown is retaining, for now, the executive-branch structure built by Reagan — four agencies straddling the plethora of departments, boards and commissions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don Burns | Rose Bird | Gray Davis | Tom Quinn | Tony Kline | Richard Maullin | Claire Dedrick | Mario Obledo

The agency secretaries form the nucleus of the Governor's cabinet, which also includes two special assistants, the finance director and an executive assistant.

Major appointments

Here is Brown's cabinet, the administration's policymakers:

Rose Bird, Agriculture and Services Agency. Bird is 38, a Stanford Law School lecturer who taught consumer protection and criminal defense, and earlier was senior trial deputy for the Santa Clara County public defender's office. She will be responsible for the Departments of Food and Agriculture, Consumer Affairs, Industrial Relations, General Services, Veterans Affairs, and Commerce (though Brown's budget eliminates its budget), the Public Employees' and Teachers' Retirement Systems, the Franchise Tax Board, the Office of the State Fire Marshal, and the State Personnel Board.

Claire Dedrick, Resources. Dedrick is 44, holds a Ph.D. in microbiology and was a Sierra Club officer. Dedrick's father, M.D. Thomas, is identified by Brown as being "a pioneer in the invention and development of air-pollution detection devices." Her agency supervises the Air Resources Board, the Solid Waste Management Board and the Water Resources Control Board (all of which Brown hopes to put under a separate environmental agency and meanwhile has reporting to another top aide, Thomas Quinn). It also oversees the California Coastal Zone Conservation Commission, the Bay Conservation and Development Commission, the Colorado River Board of California, the Reclamation Board, and the Departments of Conservation, Navigation and Ocean Development, Fish and Game, Parks and Recreation, and Water Resources.

Mario Obledo, Health and Welfare Agency. Obledo is 42, of Mexican-American ancestry and a resident of San Antonio, Texas, where he was an assistant attorney general. He formerly was chief administrative officer of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and it was in this capacity that he had occasion to deal, in an adversary relationship, with state elements now under his supervision. These are the Departments of Corrections, Youth Authority, Benefit Payments, Health, Employment Development, and Rehabilitation.

Donald E. Burns, Business and Transportation Agency. Burns is 36, a partner in the Washington, D.C., law firm of Gailor, Burns and Elias, and was formerly special counsel for the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation. His responsibilities include the Departments of Transportation, California Highway Patrol, Motor Vehicles, Banking, Insurance, Savings and Loan, Real Estate, Alcoholic Beverage Control, Corporations, and Housing and Community Development.

Thomas Quinn, special assistant to the Governor for environmental protection. Quinn is also, temporarily, chairman of the Air Resources Board (until this board and the water and solid-waste management boards can be reorganized). He is 30, was a deputy secretary of state from 1971 to 1974, directed Brown's gubernatorial campaign, and has vowed to cause "a major change of direction of the ARB in the next few months" using "strict administrative action."

Richard Maullin, chairman of the Energy Resources Conservation and Development Commission. Maullin is 34, possesses a Ph.D. in political science and was for six years a researcher with the Rand Corporation. The commission he heads, created by legislation signed last year, has responsibility for approving all sites of new power-generating plants, as well as setting regulations for conserving energy. He, too, is a top Brown campaign aide.

Gray Davis, executive assistant. Davis is 32, an attorney who ran unsuccessfully last June for the Democratic nomination for state treasurer (won by Jesse Unruh). Brown has made clear that his executive assistant will not be an alter ego, as Ed Meese was for Reagan, but will coordinate administrative matters for him.

The state's new political watchdogs

Governor Brown named one of the chief authors of Proposition 9, Daniel Lowenstein, to head the Fair Political Practices Commission. This is the five-member body charged in the initiative approved by the voters last June with enforcing the many provisions, from regulating lobbyists to reporting campaign contributions. [For a summary of the new law see *CJ*, May 1974.]

Dan Lowenstein

Lowenstein, 31, worked closely with Brown and Common Cause on the initiative campaign. He is 31 years old, a lawyer, and former deputy secretary of state. He will be the only salaried, full-time commissioner. The Governor's other appointee is Richard Carpenter, 61, retired executive director of the League of California Cities.

The remaining three commissioners are, under the law, appointed by the controller, the secretary of state, and the attorney general. Controller Ken Cory named former Congressman Jerome R. Waldie; Secretary of State March Fong Eu picked Anthony L. Miller (her campaign director); and Attorney General Evelle Younger selected Carol Arth Waters (co-director of his campaign).

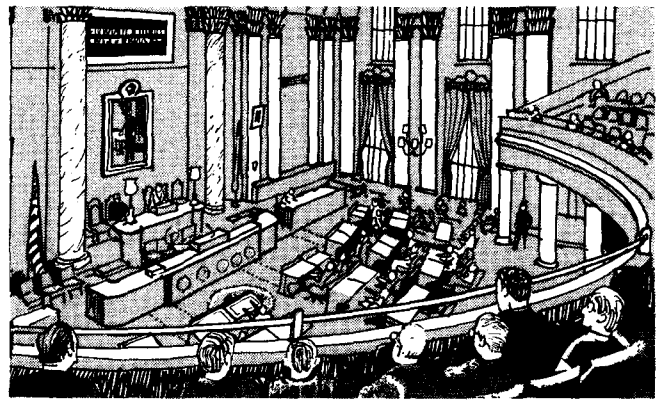
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1975 EDITION

California Journal Roster
and government guide

Contents

Constitutional offices 2
Executive branch 3
Congressional delegation 4
California Legislature 5
Legislature leadership ... 8
Committee assignments . 8
Following legislation 11
Capitol news bureaus 11
Legislative process 12



Reprints

Additional copies are available at the following rates:
Single copies, 50¢; 2-10 copies, 40¢ each; 11-50 copies, 30¢ each; 51 or more copies, 20¢ each.
Please add 6% sales tax to all orders.
Write: California Journal Roster
1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

Published by the California Center for Research and Education in Government

Copyright 1975

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constitutional offices

Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)
State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-2841

Governor's office

Gray Davis, executive assistant, 445-5106.

LeRoy J. Chatfield, director of administration, 445-1697.

William Stall, director of public affairs and press secretary, 445-4571.

J. Anthony Kline, legal affairs, 445-0873.

Carlotta Mellon, appointments assistant, 445-4541.

Marc Poché, director of programs and policy, and Paul Halvonic, legislative secretary, 445-4341.

Governor's cabinet

Cabinet assistant, 445-6131

Rose Elizabeth Bird, secretary of agriculture and services; 1210 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1935.

Donald E. Burns, secretary of business and transportation; 1120 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1935.

Mario Obledo, secretary of health and welfare; 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-6951.

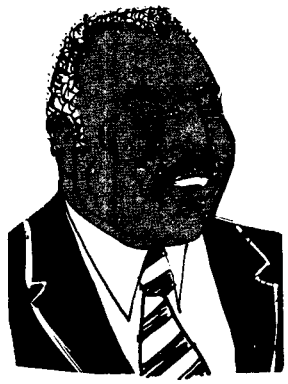
Claire T. Dedrick, secretary of resources; 1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-3758.

Thomas Quinn, special assistant for environmental protection; Air Resources Board, 1709 11th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-2990.

Richard Maullin, energy, resources, conservation, and development commissioner; 11th and L Bldg., Room 702, Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-3690.

Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally (D)
1028 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9533

Controller
Ken Cory (D)
1114 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-3028



Secretary of State
March Fong Eu (D)
925 L St.
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-6371

Attorney General
Evelle J. Younger (R)
555 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9555

6000 State Building
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-2544

3580 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 90010
Tel. (213) 620-3175

110 West A St., Suite 600
San Diego 92101
Tel. (714) 236-7351

Superintendent of Public Instruction
Wilson Riles (nonpartisan)
721 Capitol Mall, Room 524
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-4338

Treasurer
Jesse M. Unruh (D)
117 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-5316

Board of Equalization

1020 N St.
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-6464

Chairman John W. Lynch (D), 2nd District, State Bldg., 2550 Mariposa St., Fresno 93721.

Vice Chairman William Bennett (D), 3rd District, 1020 N St., Sacramento 95814.

George R. Reilly (D), 1st District, 350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102.

Richard Nevins (D), 4th District, 333 E. Walnut St., Pasadena 91101.

Controller Ken Cory (D) is an ex officio member.

State Supreme Court

350 McAllister St., Rm. 4050,
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-2367

217 W. First St., Rm. 1005
Los Angeles 90012
Tel. (213) 620-3070

Library and Courts Bldg., Room 108
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-7524

Donald R. Wright, chief justice

Marshall F. McComb
William P. Clark Jr.
Mathew O. Tobriner
Stanley Mosk
Frank Richardson
Raymond L. Sullivan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The executive branch

Agencies

Secretary of Agriculture and Services Rose Elizabeth Bird;
1220 N St., Sacramento 95814;
(916) 445-1535

Secretary of Business and Transportation Donald E. Burns;
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814;
(916) 445-1331

Secretary of Health and Welfare Mario Obledo;
915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814;
(916) 445-6951

Secretary of Resources Claire T. Dedrick;
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814;
(916) 445-3758

Boards, commissions and departments

Air Resources Board
1709 11th St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 322-2990

California Coastal Zone Conservation Commission
1540 Market St., 2nd Floor, San Francisco 94102,
(415) 557-1001

Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control
1215 O St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4321

Department of Food and Agriculture
1220 N St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-7126

State Banking Department
235 Montgomery St., Suite 750, San Francisco 94104,
(415) 557-3232;
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Suite 1501, Los Angeles 90005,
(213) 620-4730.

Department of Benefit Payments (welfare)
744 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-2077.

Department of Commerce
1400 10th St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-2018.

Department of Conservation
1416 9th St., Room 1505, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3976.

Department of Consumer Affairs
1020 N St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4465.

Department of Corporations
1025 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-8200;
600 California St., San Francisco 94108,
(415) 557-2670;
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005,
(213) 620-2710.

Department of Corrections
714 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-7683.

Department of Education
721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4338

Employment Development Department
800 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3211

Energy, Resources, Conservation, and Development Commission
11th and I Bldg., Room 702, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 322-3690

Fair Political Practices Commission
1015 L St. Sacramento 95814,
(916) 322-5660.

Department of Finance
1145 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4141.

State Fire Marshal
7171 Bowling Dr., Suite 800, Sacramento 95823,
(916) 322-2370;
107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012,
(213) 620-2126;
515 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102,
(415) 557-3467.

Department of Fish and Game
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3531.

Franchise Tax Board
920 23rd St., Sacramento 95816,
(916) 445-9540.

Department of General Services
915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3441.

Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy ("Little Hoover Commission")
11th and L Bldg., Room 550, Sacramento, 95814,
(916) 445-2125.

Commission on the Status of Women
926 J St., Room 1003, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3173

Department of Navigation and Ocean Development
1416 9th St., Room 1336, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-2615.

Department of Health
744 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4171.

Department of California Highway Patrol
2611 26th St., Sacramento 95818
(P.O. Box 898, Sacramento 95804),
(916) 445-7473.

California Horse Racing Board
205 S. Broadway, Room 417, Los Angeles 90012,
(213) 620-4160

Department of Housing and Community Development
1807 13th St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4775.

Department of Industrial Relations
1220 N St., Room 114, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-7976;
455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102,
(415) 557-3356;
107 S. Broadway, Room 5022, Los Angeles 90012,
(213) 620-2289.

Department of Insurance
1407 Market St., San Francisco 94103,
(415) 557-1126;
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005,
(213) 620-2580.

Department of Justice
(See Attorney General)

Military Department
2829 Watt Ave. (P.O. Box 214405),
Sacramento 95821,
(916) 488-7811.

Department of Motor Vehicles
2415 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(P.O. Box 1828, Sacramento 95809),
(916) 445-5281.

Department of Parks and Recreation
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-6477.

State Personnel Board
801 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 322-2578.

Public Utilities Commission
350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102,
(415) 557-1487.

Department of Real Estate
714 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3996.

Department of Rehabilitation
722 Capitol Mall, Room 4098, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3971.

Department of Savings and Loan
350 Sansome St., San Francisco 94104,
(415) 557-3666;
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005,
(213) 620-2234.

Solid Waste Management Board
1416 9th St., Room 1335, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 322-3330.

Department of Transportation
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-4616.

California State University and Colleges
5670 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90036,
(213) 938-2981.

Division of Libraries (State Library)
Library and Courts Building, Sacramento 95809,
(916) 445-4374.

University of California
714 University Hall, Berkeley 94720,
(415) 642-6000.

Department of Veterans Affairs
1227 O St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-3111

Department of Water Resources
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(P.O. Box 388, Sacramento 95802),
(916) 445-9248.

Water Resources Control Board
1416 9th St., 10th Floor, Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-9434

Department of Youth Authority
714 P St., Sacramento 95814,
(916) 445-2561.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tunney

California's congressional delegation

Cranston

Senators

Name	Party	California Offices*	Telephone
Alan Cranston	D	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024 480 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(213) 824-7461 (415) 556-8440
John V. Tunney	D	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024 480 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(213) 824-7344 (415) 556-4000

Representatives

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	32	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	255 W. 5th St., San Pedro 90731	(213) 548-2551
Bell, Alphonzo	R	27	L. A. (Santa Monica Bay)	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7222
Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside (urban)	552 N. LaCadena Dr., Colton 92324	(714) 825-2472
Burgener, Clair W.	R	43	San Diego (Del Mar, El Cajon), Imperial	7860 Mission Center Courts, San Diego 92108	(714) 299-4042
Burke, Yvonne Brathwaite	D	28	L.A. (Inglewood, Culver City)	City Hall, Inglewood 90301	(213) 678-5424
Burton, John	D	5	Marin, parts of San Francisco, Sonoma	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-1333
Burton, Phillip	D	6	Most of San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 536-4862
Clausen, Donald H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, part of Sonoma	206 Rosenberg Bldg., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 545-8844
Clawson, Del	R	33	L.A. (Whittier, Downey)	11600 S. Parmount Blvd., Downey 90240	(213) 923-9206
Corman, James	D	21	L.A. (San Fernando Valley)	14545 Friar St., Van Nuys 91411	(213) 787-1776
Danielson, George E.	D	30	Los Angeles (Monterey Park, El Monte)	879 S. Atlantic Blvd., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 570-8216
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda (northern), part of Contra Costa	201 13th St., Oakland 94604	(415) 763-0370
Edwards, Don	D	10	Alameda (southern), Santa Clara (northern)	1961 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 296-7456
Goldwater, Barry, Jr.	R	20	Ventura (eastern), Los Angeles (northwestern)	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-1233
Hannaford, Mark	D	34	Los Angeles (eastern Long Beach), north coastal Orange	5175 E. Pacific Coast Hwy., Long Beach 90815	(213) 498-3381
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	Los Angeles (Watts)	8563 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 750-0260
Hinshaw, Andrew J.	R	40	Orange (southern), San Diego (northern)	811 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 836-2611
Johnson, Harold T.	D	1	Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, Modoc, Butte, Sierra, Lassen, Plumas, Nev., Placer, Yuba, Glenn, part of Sacto.	320 Vernon St., Roseville 95678	(916) 782-4411
Ketchum, William	R	18	Inyo, Kern, parts of Tulare and Los Angeles (desert)	800 Truxton Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-8322
Krebs, John	D	17	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Fresno	1130 O St., Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5487
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, parts of San Luis Obispo and Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Leggett, Robert	D	4	Colusa, Sutter, Yolo, Solano, part of Sacramento	1720 Tennessee St., Vallejo 94790	(707) 691-0771
Lloyd, Jim	D	35	L.A. (Covina, Pomona), west San Bernardino	100 S. Vincent, West Covina 91790	(213) 339-7356
McCloskey, Paul, Jr.	R	12	Santa Clara (northwestern), some of San Mateo	305 Grant Ave., Palo Alto 94306	(415) 326-7383
McFall, John J.	D	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Mono, Tuolumne, parts of Sacramento and Stanislaus	146 N. Grant St., Manteca 95336	(209) 823-1112
Miller, George	D	7	Most of Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman	D	13	Santa Clara (southern)	1245 S. Winchester St., San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	L.A. (Burbank, Glendale)	420 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(213) 247-8445
Moss, John E.	D	3	Most of Sacramento	8056 Federal Bldg., Sacramento 95814	(916) 449-3543
Patterson, Jerry	D	38	Orange (Buena Park, Westminster, Santa Ana)	1200 N. Main St., Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-3811
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	37	San Bernardino and Riverside (rural)	242 N. Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino 92408	(714) 884-8818
Rees, Thomas M.	D	23	L.A. (Encino, Beverly Hills)	816 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 652-4000
Rousselot, John H.	R	26	L.A. (Alhambra, Glendora)	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 447-8125
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	L.A. (Downtown, East L.A.)	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Ryan, Leo J.	D	11	Most of San Mateo	210 S. Ellsworth Ave., San Mateo 94401	(415) 343-5677
Sisk, B.F.	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Madera, part of Stanislaus and Fresno	1130 O St., Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5004
Stark, Fortney H.	D	9	Alameda (central and eastern)	313 Cross Rd., Danville 94526	(415) 635-1092
Talcott, Burt L.	R	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, part of San Luis Obispo	100 W. Alisal St., Salinas 93901	(408) 424-2881
Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	42	San Diego (southwest)	815 E St., Rm. 205, San Diego 92101	(714) 233-8950
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	8455 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Wiggins, Charles E.	R	39	Orange, (Anaheim, Fullerton)	1400 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 870-7266
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	L.A (Hawthorne, Compton)	1500 Aviation Blvd., Lawndale 90261	(213) 536-6680
Wilson, Bob	R	41	San Diego (Mission Valley)	123 Camino de la Reina, San Diego 92108	(714) 299-2444

*During sessions, mail for senators may be addressed to New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.
**During sessions, mail for members of the House may be addressed to House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The California Legislature

Senate

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	13	Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	32	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	486 W. 5th St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-3165	445-6868
Behr, Peter H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Sonoma	1299 4th St., San Rafael 94901	(415) 457-9441	445-3375
Beilenson, Anthony	D	22	Los Angeles	1373 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 479-3969	445-7114
Berryhill, Clare	R	3	Alp., Amador, Calaveras, El Do., Lassen, Modoc, Nev., Placer, Plumas, Sierra Stan., Tuolumne	1301 K St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1936	445-2407
Carpenter, Dennis E.	R	36	Orange, San Diego	3912 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 557-3200	445-5831
Collier, Randolph	D	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendo., Sisk., Sonoma, Trin.	4076 State Capitol Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-4641	445-4641
Cusanovich, Lou	R	23	Los Angeles	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 888-0242	445-8873
Deukmejian, George	R	37	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4865	445-4961
Dills, Ralph C.	D	28	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Dunlap, John F	D	4	Napa, Sacramento, Solano, Sonoma, Yolo	583 Coombs St., Napa 94558	(707) 255-2553	445-3353
(Vacant at time of publication		29	Los Angeles			
Garcia, Alex P.	D	24	Los Angeles	205 S. Broadway Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-3456
Gregorio, Arlen	D	10	San Mateo, Santa Clara	1177 University Dr., Menlo Park 94025	(415) 323-8448	445-0870
Grunsky, Donald L.	R	17	Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz	P.O. Box 1186, Watsonville 95076	(408) 722-3511	445-5843
Holden, Nate	D	30	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0863	445-6671
Kennick, Joseph M.	D	33	Los Angeles	110 Pine Ave., Long Beach 90802	(213) 432-5473	445-5581
Marks, Milton	R	9	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
Mills, James R.	D	40	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 234-2131	445-6767
Moscone, George R.	D	6	San Francisco, San Mateo	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-3965	445-0503
Nejedly, John A	R	7	Contra Costa	1393 Civic Dr., Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 934-4558	445-6083
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	11	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	34	Riverside, San Bernardino	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 682-0550	445-9781
Rains, Omer L.	D	18	Santa Barbara, Ventura	500 Esplanade Dr., Oxnard 93030	(805) 485-2136	445-5405
Richardson, H.L	R	19	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 620-2823	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	12444 Victory Blvd., N. Hollywood 91606	(213) 930-0055	445-3121
Roberti, David A	D	27	Los Angeles	6640 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rodda, Albert S.	D	5	Sacramento	4048 State Capitol Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-5788	445-5788
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	815 S. Central Ave., Glendale 91204	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Schrade, Jack	R	39	San Diego	1904 Hotel Circle, San Diego 92108	(714) 294-5043	445-3952
Smith, Jerry	D	12	Santa Clara	2185 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 984-7290	984-7290
Song, Alfred H.	D	26	Los Angeles	2337 S. Garfield Ave., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 724-3825	445-3386
Stevens, Robert S.	R	25	Los Angeles	1245 Glendon Ave., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 473-2147	445-6747
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	930 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-7594	445-6637
Stull, John	R	38	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	105 N. Rose St., Escondido 92027	(714) 743-8338	445-3731
Way, Howard	R	15	Fresno, Inyo, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, Tulare	P.O. Box 724, Exeter 93221	(209) 592-3571	445-6447
Wedworth, James Q.	D	31	Los Angeles	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90301	(213) 673-1010	445-2848
Whetmore, James	R	35	Los Angeles, Orange	300 S. Harbor Blvd., Anaheim 92805	(714) 991-1140	445-4264
Zenovich, George N.	D	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus	1060 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 488-5567	445-9600

*During session, mail for senators may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles (East Los Angeles)	5916 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Antonovich, Mike	R	41	Los Angeles (Burbank, Glendale)	512 E. Wilson Ave., Glendale 91206	(213) 240-6330	445-8364
Arnett, Dixon	R	20	San Mateo (southern)	680 Warren St., Redwood City 94063	(415) 364-0260	445-8188
Badham, Robert E.	R	74	Orange (Newport Beach), part of San Diego	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 645-7101	445-7222
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles (N. Hollywood, Van Nuys, Reseda)	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bannai, Paul T.	R	53	Los Angeles (Hawthorne, Gardena)	1919 W. Redondo Beach Blvd., Gardena 90247	(213) 327-5920	445-0965
Berman, Howard	D	43	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills, Westwood)	13719 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks 91403	(213) 990-2070	445-4956
Beverly, Robert G.	R	51	Los Angeles (South Bay)	1611 S. Pacific Coast Hwy., Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 378-8522	445-2112
Boatwright, Daniel	D	10	Contra Costa (eastern)	1035 Detroit Ave., Concord 94518	(415) 689-1991	445-8528
Briggs, John V.	R	69	Orange (Fullerton, Anaheim)	1400 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92632	(714) 879-2345	445-7448
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	515 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Burke, Robert H.	R	73	Orange (Huntington Beach, Costa Mesa)	17732 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	(714) 842-1494	445-8377
Calvo, Victor	D	21	Santa Clara (northwestern) part of San Mateo	2570 El Camino Real West Mountain View 94040	(415) 941-4640	445-7632
Campbell, William	R	64	Los Angeles (Whittier, La Mirada)	7624 Painter Ave., Whittier 90601	(213) 693-8284	445-7550
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	71	Orange (Buena Park, Westminster)	12062 Valley View Garden Grove 92645	(714) 893-1388	445-6233
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego (City of San Diego, Coronado)	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Chappie, Eugene	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra Nevada, Placer, half of Butte	438 Colusa Highway, Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Chel, Fred	D	58	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	2750 Bellflower St., Long Beach 90815	(213) 420-2471	445-8492
Chimbole, Larry	D	34	Inyo, parts of Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	507 West Avenue J, Lancaster 93534	(805) 948-8447	445-3266
Cline, Robert C.	R	37	Los Angeles (San Fernando Valley), part of Ventura	19240 Nordhoff St., Northridge 91324	(213) 349-3333	445-7676
Collier, John L.E.	R	61	Los Angeles (San Gabriel, Arcadia)	501 S. First Ave., Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-6158	445-7234
Craven, William	R	76	San Diego (La Jolla, Del Mar)	550 W. Broadway, Vista 92083	(714) 726-7676	445-2390
Cullen, Mike	D	57	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4404	445-7454
Davis, Pauline	D	1	Siskiyou, Trinity, Shasta, Modoc, Tehama, Glenn, Lassen, Plumas, half of Butte	P.O. Box 1071 Portola 96122	(916) 832-5013	445-7266
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	80	San Diego (National City, Chula Vista)	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7077	445-7556
Dixon, Julian	D	49	Los Angeles (Culver City)	2907 W. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 295-4226	445-8800
Duffy, Gordon	R	32	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Kern	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Egeland, Leona H.	D	24	San Benito, Santa Clara (rural)	557 W. Alma Ave., San Jose 95110	(408) 295-1545	445-8243
Fenton, Jack R.	D	59	Los Angeles (Alhambra, Monterey Park)	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 724-3400	445-0854
Foran, John F.	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Garamendi, John	D	7	El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Mono, Tuolumne, parts of Sacramento and San Joaquin	218 W. Pine St., Lodi 95240	(209) 334-0568	445-8343
Goggin, Terry	D	66	San Bernardino (urban)	515 N. Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Greene, Bill	D	47	Los Angeles (Huntington Park)	203 E. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90011	(213) 234-9021	445-7498
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	5738 Marconi Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 483-2738	445-7807
Gualco, Eugene T.	D	5	Sacramento	4017 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-4445	445-4445
Hart, Gary	D	35	Most of Santa Barbara	1129-B State St., Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-8292
Hayden, Richard D.	R	22	Santa Clara (southern)	21060 Homestead Road, Cupertino 95014	(408) 732-7322	445-8305
Ingalls, Walter	D	68	Riverside (urban)	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 682-3772	445-1720
Kapiloff, Lawrence	D	78	San Diego (Mission Hills, Linda Vista)	424 Pennsylvania Ave., San Diego 92103	(714) 299-5577	445-7210
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma (northern)	533 G St., Eureka 95501	(707) 443-4816	445-8360

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Keysor, Jim	D	39	Los Angeles (eastern San Fernando Valley)	309 S. Maclay St., San Fernando 91340	(408) 446-4114	445-8430
Knox, John T.	D	11	Contra Costa (western)	3607 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94805	(415) 237-8171	445-7890
Lancaster, William	R	62	Los Angeles (Covina, Claremont)	372 E. Rowland Ave., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Lanterman, Frank	R	42	Los Angeles (Pasadena, Glendale)	106-A S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	(213) 449-4747	445-8211
Lewis, Jerry	R	67	San Bernardino, Riverside (rural)	101 S. 6th St., Redlands 92373	(714) 886-5201	445-7552
Lockyer, Bill	D	14	Alameda (central)	14895 E. 14th St., San Leandro 94578	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
MacDonald, Ken	D	36	Most of Ventura	3212 Loma Vista Rd., Ventura 93003	(805) 648-5328	445-7402
Maddy, Kenneth L.	R	30	Madera, Mariposa, part of Fresno	1221 Van Ness Ave., Fresno 93721	(209) 486-0910	445-7558
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara (northeastern), part of Alameda	1595 E. Santa Clara St., San Jose 95116	(408) 272-0221	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T	D	18	San Francisco, part of San Mateo	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662	445-8994
McLennan, Robert M.	R	63	Los Angeles (Downey, Norwalk)	8201 4th St., Downey 90241	(213) 869-2451	445-6047
McVittie, Bill	D	65	Los Angeles (Pomona) and San Bernardino (Ontario)	1603 W. 6th St., Ontario 91762	(714) 627-3535	445-8490
Meade, Ken	D	12	Alameda (northern), part of Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94610	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Miller, John J.	D	13	Alameda (northwestern)	5801 Christie St., Emeryville 94608	(415) 653-2424	445-7442
Mobley, Ernest N	R	31	Most of Fresno, part of Tulare	600 W. Shaw, Fresno 93704	(209) 224-5293	445-8514
Montoya, Joe	D	60	Los Angeles (El Monte, La Puente)	142 N. 1st St., La Puente 91744	(213) 968-1544	445-7783
Murphy, Frank	R	28	Santa Cruz, part of Monterey	215 W. Franklin St., Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-8496
Nestande, Bruce	R	70	Orange (City of Orange, Tustin)	648 N. Tustin Ave., Orange 92667	(714) 633-7460	445-2778
Nimmo, Robert P	R	29	San Luis Obispo, parts of Monterey, Santa Barbara	1011 Pacific St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 544-2274	445-7795
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo (northern)	343-B Serramonte Plaza Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Perino, Carmen	D	26	Parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Priolo, Paul	R	38	Los Angeles (Malibu Coast), part of Ventura	4883 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366
Ralph, Leon	D	48	Los Angeles (Watts, South Gate)	9512 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90002	(213) 327-5612	445-2363
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)	822 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-4727	445-7333
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	45	Los Angeles (Fairfax, Studio City)	8455 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
Siegler, Alfred C.	D	8	Napa, parts of Sonoma and Solano	920 College Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(704) 542-4433	445-8102
Sieroty, Alan	D	44	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills)	449 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, 90212	(213) 277-5955	445-7928
Suitt, Tom	D	75	Imperial, desert parts of Riverside, San Diego	247 E. Tahquitz-McCallum Way Palm Springs 92262	(714) 325-1139	445-7852
Thomas, Vincent	D	52	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	255 W. 5th St., San Pedro 90731	(213) 833-2881	445-7906
Thomas, William M.	R	33	Most of Kern	2025 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-3146	445-8498
Thurman, John E.	D	27	Most of Stanislaus and Merced	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1111	445-8570
Torres, Art	D	56	Los Angeles (downtown, City of Commerce)	2211 S. Atlantic Blvd., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 263-9988	445-1670
Tucker, Curtis 3.	D	50	Los Angeles (Inglewood, Westchester)	161 N. LaBrea Ave., Inglewood 90301	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara (urban)	2435 Forest Ave., San Jose 95129	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles (Compton)	8040 E. Alondra, Paramount 90723	(213) 531-0265	445-7486
Warren, Charles	D	46	Los Angeles (Wilshire, Silver Lake)	1411 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90015	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Wilson, Bob	D	77	San Diego (La Mesa, El Cajon)	164 W. Park Ave., El Cajon 92020	(714) 442-4464	445-6161
Wornum, Michael	D	9	Marin, part of Sonoma	21 Tamal Vista, Corte Madera 94925	(415) 924-8850	445-7827
Z'berg, Edwin L.	D	4	Yolo, parts of Solano and Sacramento	2413 15th St., Sacramento 95818	(916) 443-6728	445-8368
(Vacant at time of publication)		15	Alameda (southern, eastern)	5135 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	———	445-7380

*During legislative session, mail for assemblymen may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Legislative leadership

Leo McCarthy

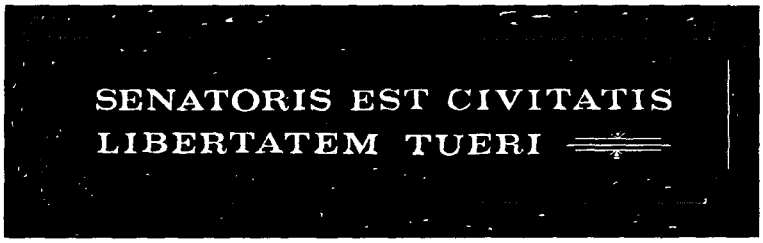
Assembly

Speaker Leo McCarthy (D)
Speaker pro Tempore Louis Papan (D)
Majority Floor Leader Howard Berman (D)
Minority Floor Leader Robert Beverly (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Julian Dixon
Republican Caucus Chairman Frank Murphy

Senate

President of the Senate Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally (D)
President pro Tempore James Mills (D)
Majority Floor Leader George Moscone (D)
Minority Floor Leader George Deukmejian (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman David Roberti
Republican Caucus Chairman Dennis Carpenter

James Mills



Senate standing committees

Rules (3D, 2R):

Chairman Mills (D); Stevens (R); Berryhill (R); Kennick (D); Petris (D).
Executive officer John Williamson; phone 445-4311; room 5100.

Agriculture and Water Resources (4D, 5R):
Chairman Way (R); Vice Chairman Berryhill (R); Ayala (D); Nejedly (R); Presley (D); Richardson (R); Stiern (D); Stull (R); Zenovich (D).
Consultant Paul K. Huff; phone 445-2206; room 2037.

Business and Professions (4D, 4R, 1 vacancy at time of publication):
Chairman Schrade (R); Vice Chairman Roberti (D); Beilenson (D); Deukmejian (R); Marks (R); Rains (D); Song (D); Whetmore (R).
Consultant James Cathcart, phone 445-3435, room 2044.

Education (7D, 4R):
Chairman Rodda (D); Vice Chairman Stull (R); Alquist (D); Behr (R); Dunlap (D); Gregorio (D); Grunsky (R); Moscone (D); Richardson (R); Smith (D); Stiern (D).
Consultant Gerald Hayward, phone 445-2522, room 2207.

Elections and Reapportionment (4D, 2R, 1 vac.):
Chairman Rains (D); Vice Chairman Richardson (R); Carpenter (R); Garcia (D); Holden (D); Robbins (D).
Consultant James Browning, phone 445-2601, room 5090.

Finance (8D, 5R):
Chairman Beilenson (D); Vice Chairman Grunsky (R); Alquist (D); Behr (R); Carpenter (R); Collier (D); Cusanovich (R); Holmdahl (D); Petris (D); Roberti (D); Rodda (D); Stiern (D); Way (R).
Consultant Cathy Creeggan, phone 445-3754, room 5007.

Governmental Organization (7D, 4R):
Chairman Dills (D); Vice Chairman Dunlap (D); Collier (D); Cusanovich (R); Deukmejian (R); Gregorio (D); Grunsky (R); Kennick (D); Wedworth (D); Whetmore (R); Zenovich (D).
Consultant Charles Baldwin, phone 445-1193, room 5046.

Health and Welfare (6D, 3R):
Chairman Gregorio (D); Vice Chairman Whetmore (R); Beilenson (D); Dills (D); Garcia (D); Holden (D); Marks (R); Moscone (D); Schrade (R).
Consultant William Barnaby, phone 445-5965, room 4038.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):
Chairman Zenovich (D); Vice Chairman Robbins (D); Cusanovich (R); Presley (D); Rodda (D); Russell (R); Stull (R).
Consultant William Montgomery, 445-5221, room 2183.

Insurance and Financial Institutions (5D, 4R):
Chairman Behr (R); Vice Chairman Stevens (R); Carpenter (R); Collier (D); Rains (D); Russell (R); Stiern (D); Wedworth (D); Zenovich (D).
Consultant Robert Keller, phone 445-6306, room 2193.

Judiciary (7D, 4R):
Chairman Song (D); Vice Chairman Petris (D);

Senate committee schedule

Monday		
Finance	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.*
Local Government	Room 4203	1:30 p.m.*
Public Employment and Retirement	Room 2040	1:30 p.m.**
Tuesday		
Judiciary	Room 4203	9:30 a.m.*
Public Utilities, Transit, and Energy	Room 2040	9:30 a.m.**
Transportation	Room 2030	9:30 a.m.***
Natural Resources and Wildlife	Room 5007	9:30 a.m.***
Governmental Organization	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.*
Agriculture and Water Resources	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.**
Elections and Reapportionment	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.***
Wednesday		
Rules	Room 5007	9:30 a.m.*
Education	Room 4203	9:30 a.m.*
Business and Professions	Room 3191	9:30 a.m.***
Health and Welfare	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.*
Revenue and Taxation	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.*
Industrial Relations	Room 2040	1:30 p.m.*
Insurance and Financial Institutions	Room 2040	1:30 p.m.***

*Meets every week.
**Meets 1st and 3rd weeks.
***Meets 2nd and 4th weeks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carpenter (R); Deukmejian (R); Grunsky (R); Moscone (D); Presley (D); Rains (D); Robbins (D); Roberti (D) Stevens (R).
Consultant Bion Gregory, phone 445-5957, room 2046.

Local Government (4D, 3R):
Chairman Marks (R); Vice Chairman Presley (D); Ayala (D); Gregorio (D); Holden (D); Nejedly (R); Stull (R).
Consultant Stephen Taber, phone 445-9748, room 2045

Natural Resources and Wildlife (5D, 3R, 1vac.):
Chairman Nejedly (R); Vice Chairman Ayala (D); Behr (R); Berryhill (R); Dills (D); Dunlap (D); Smith (D); Wedworth (D).
Consultant Robert Testa, phone 445-5442; room 2203

Public Employment and Retirement (3D, 2R):
Chairman Wedworth (D); Vice Chairman Russell (R); Kennick (D); Robbins (D); Schrade (R).

Consultant Robert Bissonette, phone 445-8958, room 2191.

Public Utilities, Transit, and Energy (6D, 3R):
Chairman Alquist (D); Vice Chairman Holden (D); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Mills (D); Nejedly (R); Rodda (D); Russell (R); Smith (D).
Consultant Robert Foster, phone 445-9765, room 2035.

Revenue and Taxation (6D, 3R):
Chairman Holmdahl (D); Vice Chairman Smith (D); Ayala (D); Deukmejian (R); Dunlap (D); Petris (D); Richardson (R); Song (D); Way (R).
Consultant (vacant), phone 445-3808, room 2195.

Transportation (6D, 3R):
Chairman Collier (D); Vice Chairman Garcia (D); Alquist (D); Holmdahl (D); Kennick (D); Marks (R); Mills (D); Schrade (R); Whetmore (D).
Consultant Robert Hampton, phone 445-3182, room 4076.

Types of legislation

- **Bills** propose changes or additions to state law. Depending on the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).

- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills", actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.

- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to ratify amendments to city or county charters, adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.

- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.

- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal*, and they take effect on their adoption.

Assembly standing committees

Agriculture (9D, 4R):
Chairman Thurman (D); Vice Chairman Suitt (D); Chappie (R); Chimbole (D); Duffy ZR); Egeland (D); Garamendi (D); McVittie (D); Mobley (R); Montoya (D); Nimmo (R); Perino (D); Vicencia (D).
Consultant George Soares; phone 445-8570; room 4130.

Criminal Justice (4D, 2R):
Chairman Sieroty (D); Vice Chairman Torres (D); Dixon (D); Knox (D); Maddy (R); Nestande (R).
Consultant Tom Clarke; phone 445-3268; room 2140.

Education (11D, 4R):
Chairman Leroy Greene (D); Vice Chairman Hart (D); Arnett (R) Campbell (R); Collier (R); Dixon (D); Egeland (D); Bill Greene (D); Keysor (D); Lancaster (R); McAlister (D); Montoya (D); Siegler (D); Suitt (D); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant James Murdoch; phone 445-7807; room 5151.

Elections and Reapportionment (6D, 5R):
Chairman Keysor (D); Vice Chairman Tucker (D); Alatorre (D); Badham (R); Bane (D); Briggs (R); Carpenter (R); Fenton (D); McLennan (R); Meade (D); Bill Thomas (R).
Consultant Roger Bollinger; Phone 445-8430; room 2196.

Energy and Diminishing Materials (7D, 4R):
Chairman Warren (D); Vice Chairman Goggin (D); Bane (D); Cline (R); L. Greene (D); Gualco (D); Hayden (R); Kapiloff (D); Murphy (R); Nimmo (R); Suitt (D).
Consultant Gene Varanini; phone 445-7644; room 2126.

Finance, Insurance and Commerce (11D, 4R):
Chairman McAlister (D); Vice Chairman Garamendi (D); Bane (D); Bannai (R); Berman (D); Beverly (R); L. Greene (D); Hayden (R); Ingalls (D); Lancaster (R); Miller (D); Papan (D); Ralph (D) Robinson (D); Wilson (D).
Consultants Carl Brakensiek, Steve Spellman; phone 445-9160, room 3112.

Governmental Organization (6D, 3R):
Chairman Wilson (D); Vice Chairman Rosenthal (D); Campbell (R); Cline (R); Cullen (D); Murphy (R); Thurman (D); Tucker (D); Vicencia (D).
Consultant Parke Terry; phone 445-6161; room 4126

Health (8D, 3R):
Chairman Keene (D); Vice Chairman Egeland (D); Duffy (R); Garamendi (D); Hart (D); Ingalls (D); Keysor (D); Lanterman (R); McLennan (R); Ralph (D); Rosenthal (D).
Consultant Ken Wagstaff; phone 445-1770; room 5119.

Human Resources (6D, 3R):
Chairman Lockyer (D); Vice Chairman Carpenter (D); Arnett (R); Badham (R); Brown (D); Papan (D); B. Thomas (R); V. Thomas (D); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant Stan Lena; phone 445-1018; room 3132.

(continued next page)

Assembly committee schedule

Monday		
Resources and Land Use	Room 2170	9:30 a.m.*
Public Employees and Retirement	Room 6031	10:30 a.m.**
Human Resources	Room 2117	10:30 a.m.***
Finance, Insurance, and Commerce	Room 2170	2:00 p.m.*
Labor Relations	Room 6028	2:00 p.m.**
Tuesday		
Ways and Means	Room 4202	9:00 a.m.*
Governmental Organization	Room 6031	9:00 a.m.*
Local Government	Room 2133	3:00 p.m.**
Elections and Reapportionment	Room 6028	3:00 p.m.***
Agriculture	Room 2170	3:00 p.m.***
Urban Development and Housing	Room 2133	3:00 p.m.***
Wednesday		
Revenue and Taxation	Room 2170	9:00 a.m.*
Health	Room 2133	9:00 a.m.*
Criminal Justice	Room 2117	9:00 a.m.*
Transportation	Room 2170	1:30 p.m.*
Energy and Diminishing Materials	Room 2133	1:30 p.m.*
Rules	Room 3188	4:00 p.m.*
Thursday		
Education	Room 4202	9:00 a.m.*
Judiciary	Room 6028	9:00 a.m.*
Intergovernmental Relations		On Call

*Meets every week.
**Meets 1st and 3rd week.
***Meets 2nd and 4th week.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Intergovernmental Relations (4D, 4R, 1 vacancy at publication):
Chairman Vince Thomas (D); Vice Chairman Collier (R); Briggs (R); Cullen (D); Foran (D); McCarthy (D); McLennan (R); Priolo (R).
Consultant Eve Ostoja; phone 445-7906; room 4116.

Judiciary (8D, 3R):
Chairman Miller (D); Vice Chairman Chel (D); Badham (R); Bannai (R); Beverly (R); Boatwright (D); Keene (D); Knox (D); McVittie (D); Torres (D); Wilson (D).
Consultant Thomas Carroll; phone 445-5750; room 4112.

Labor Relations (7D, 3R, 1 vac.):
Chairman B. Greene (D); Vice Chairman Siegler (D); Alatorre (D); Antonovich (R); Berman (D); Briggs (R); Craven (R); Fenton (D); Meade (D); V. Thomas (D).
Consultant Bruce Ogden; phone 445-7498; room 2188.

Local Government (8D, 4R, 1 vac.):
Chairman Knox (D); Vice Chairman Gualco (D); Arnett (R); Calvo (D); Chimbole (D); Craven (R); Lancaster (R); MacDonald (D); Perino (D); Priolo (R); Thurman (D); Wornum (D).
Consultant Tom Willoughby; phone 445-7890; room 2148.

Public Employees and Retirement (8D, 3R):
Chairman Dixon (D); Vice Chairman Perino (D); Antonovich (R); Chacon (D); Craven (R); Deddeh (D); Fenton (D); Hayden (R); Meade (D); Tucker (D); Z'berg (D).
Consultants: Dave Cox, Charles Cole; phone 445-3153; room 5175.

Resources and Land Use (9D, 4R):
Chairman Z'berg (D); Vice Chairman Wornum (D); Davis (D); Hart (D); Kapiloff (D); Keene (D); Mobley (R); Nestande (R); Nimmo (R); Priolo (R); Rosenthal (D); Sieroty (D); Warren (D).
Consultant James Pardau; phone 445-9367; room 3142.

Revenue and Taxation (9D, 4R):
Chairman Boatwright (D); Vice Chairman McVittie (D); Alatorre (D); Bannai (R); Calvo (D); Chel (D); Cline (R); Deddeh (D); Kapiloff (D); Lewis (R); Lockyer (D); Murphy (R); Robinson (D).
Consultant David Doerr; phone 322-3730; room 2013.

Rules (4D, 3R):
Chairman Ralph (D); Vice Chairman Mobley (R); Burke (R); Chappie (R); Davis (D); MacDonald (D); Montoya (D).
Consultant Fred Taugher; phone 445-8173; room 3188.

Transportation (10D, 5R):
Chairman Ingalls (D); Vice Chairman Calvo (D); Antonovich (R); Brown (D); Burke (R); Chel (D); Chimbole (D); Collier (R); Deddeh (D); Foran (D); Lanterman (R); Lewis (R); Lockyer (D); Vicencia (D); Wornum (D).
Consultant Sid McCausland; phone 445-7278; room 2091.

Urban Development and Housing (9D, 4R):
Chairman Chacon (D); Vice Chairman Robinson (D); Brown (D); Campbell (R); Carpenter (D); Cullen (D); Goggin (D); Gualco (D); Maddy (R); Nestande (R); Siegler (D); B. Thomas (R); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant Renée Franken; phone 445-7610; room 4167.

Ways and Means (13D, 6R):
Chairman Foran (D); Vice Chairman Lanterman (R); Berman (D); Boatwright (D); Burke (R); Chacon (D); Chappie (R); Davis (D); Duffy (R); B. Greene (D); Lewis (R); MacDonald (D); McAlister (D); Maddy (R); Miller (D); Papan (D); Sieroty (D); Warren (D); Z'berg (D).
Principal consultant John Delury; phone 445-7082; room 3091.

Other key legislative bodies

Joint Legislative Audit Committee
Assemblyman Bob Wilson (D), chairman.
Auditor General Harvey Rose, 925 L St., Suite 750, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Joint Legislative Budget Committee
Senator Grunsky (R), Chairman; Assemblyman Mike Cullen (D), vice chairman.
Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post; Chief Deputy John Vickerman; Deputies Clinton Jordan and Arthur Buck Jr.; 925 L St., suite 650, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656

A. Alan Post

Joint Rules Committee
Assemblyman Leon Ralph, chairman.
3016 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-2995.

Office of the Legislative Counsel
Legislative Counsel George H. Murphy; Chief Deputy Bernard Czesla; 3021 State Capitol; (916) 445-2781; 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

Capital news bureaus

The principal news bureaus maintained by newspapers and broadcasters in Sacramento (95814):

Publications

Associated Press, Suite 320, 925 L St.; 445-6196.

California Journal, 1617 10th St., 444-2840.

Capitol News Service, Room 347, 1127 11th St.;446-2132.

Copley News Service, Suite 1190, 925 L St.; 445-2934.

Lesher Newspapers, Suite 325, 925 L St.; 444-8827.

Long Beach *Independent, Press-Telegram,* Suite 345, 925 L St.; 445-4614.

Los Angeles *Daily Journal*, Suite 325, 925 L St.,; 445-8063.

Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, Room 320, 925 L St.; 445-2936.

Los Angeles *Times*, Suite 1490, 925 L St.; 445-8860.

McClatchy Newspapers (*Sacramento, Fresno, Modesto Bees*), Suite 340, 925 L St.; 445-9424.

Oakland *Tribune*, Suite 385, 925 L St.; 445-5424.

Riverside *Press-Enterprise,* Suite 325, 925 L St.; 445-9973.

San Bernardino *Sun Telegram*, Suite 385, 925 L St.; 445-5310.

Sacramento *Bee* (see under McClatchy Newspapers).

Sacramento *Union*, Suite 1190, 925 L St.; 445-2776.

San Diego *Evening Tribune,* Suite 1190, 925 L St.; 445-6510.

San Diego *Union*, Suite 1190, 925 L St.; 445-9656.

San Francisco *Chronicle*; Suite 680, 925 L St.; 445-5658.

San Francisco *Examiner*; Suite 320, 925 L St.; 445-4310.

San Jose *Mercury-News*, Suite 345, 925 L St.; 322-3022.

United Press International, Suite 1185, 925 L St.; 445-7755.

Radio, television

Group W-Westinghouse Broadcasting (KFWB, KPIX), Suite 305, 925 L St.; 445-4212.

KCBS, KABC, KXRX, KNDE radio, Suite 305, 925 L St.; 445-7372.

KNBC Los Angeles, NBC-News, Suite 335, 925 L St.; 445-2573.

KNXT Los Angeles, CBS News; Suite 308, 925 L. St.; 445-4477.

KCRA Sacramento, 310 10th St.; 444-7300

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Keeping track of legislation

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories*. Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature*, by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all scheduled committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of all bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

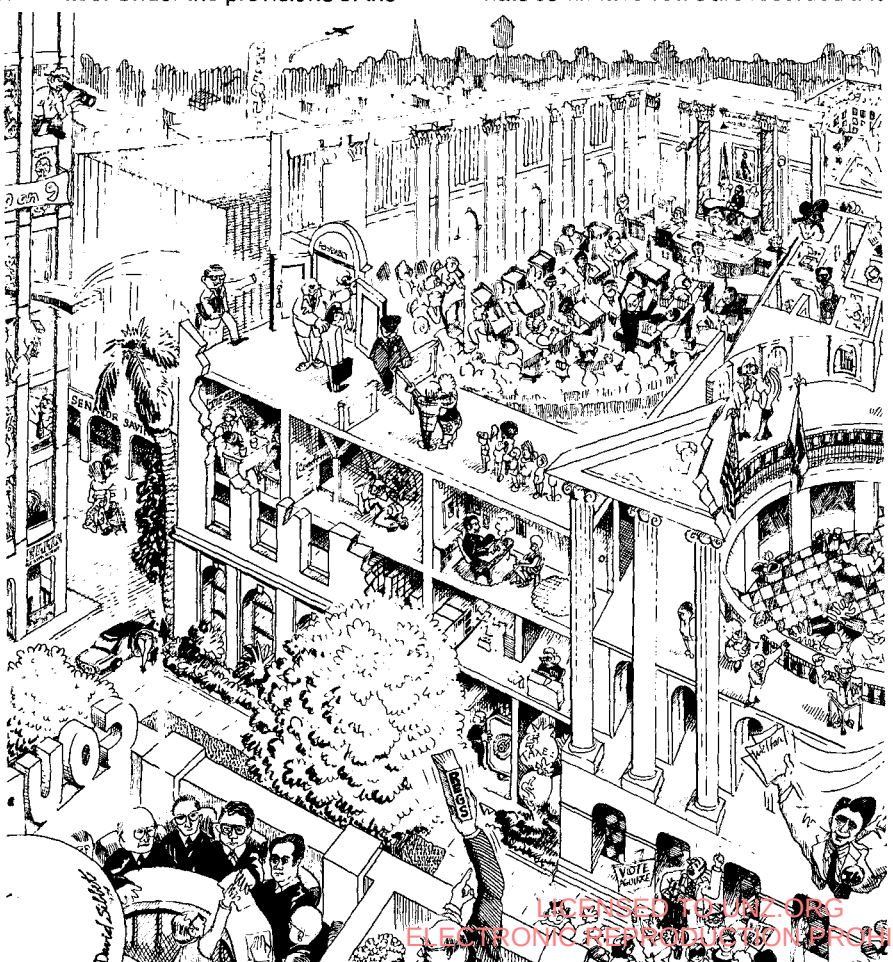
The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgment of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal*, but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal*.

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments, and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

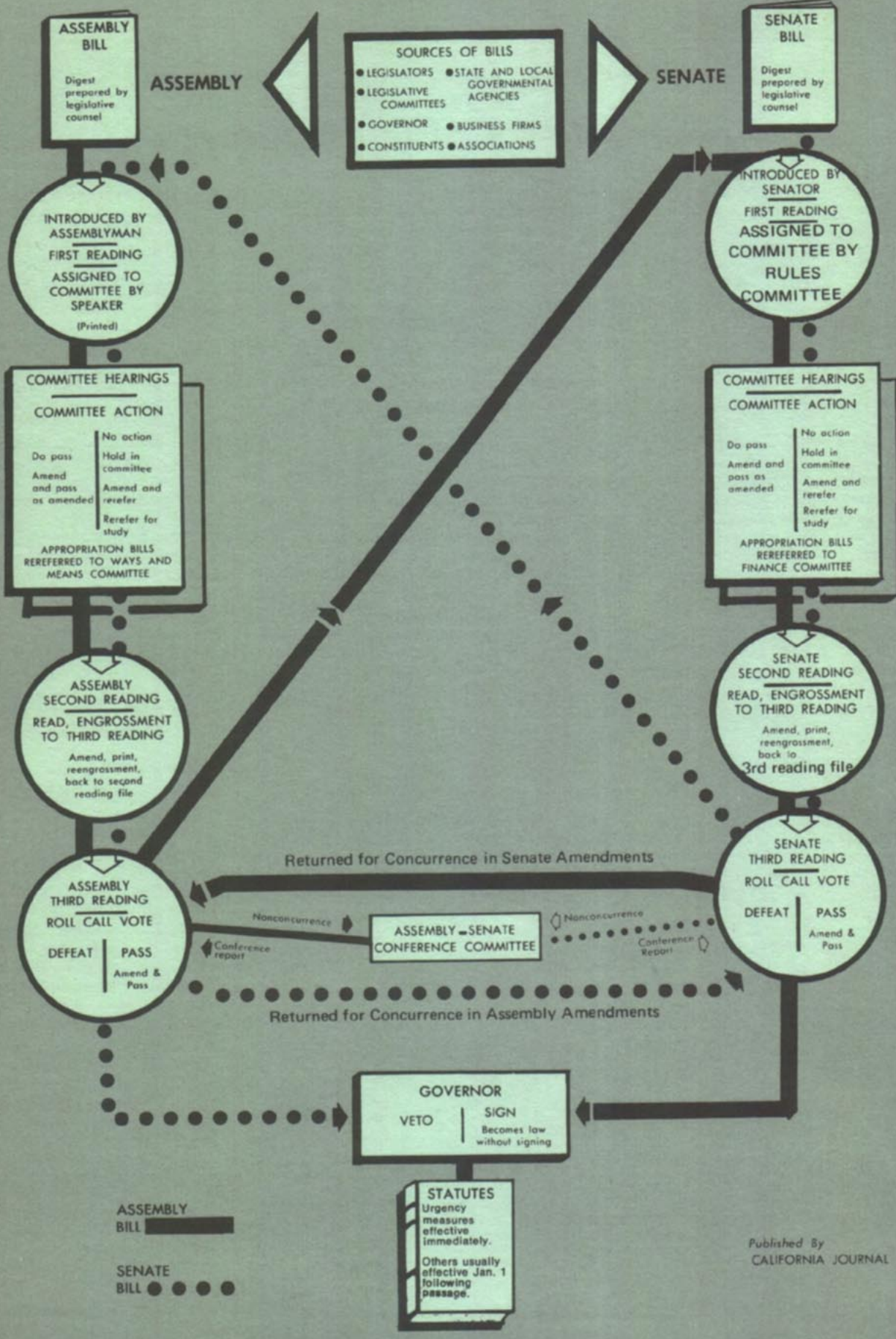


USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS
(Area Code 916)

Information	445-4711
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Research	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-3490
Archives	445-4293
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-2781

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Legislative Process



Published By
CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LeRoy Chatfield Bill Stall Carlotta Mellon Leonard Grimes

Roy M. Bell, acting director, Department of Finance. Bell is a 57-year-old civil servant who worked closely with Brown's transition team in modeling the budget submitted to the Legislature last month; Bell has been with the department's budget division since 1947, and has been assistant director for the last 12 years.

Department directors of some significance were also named last month: James Lorenz, 36, the former poverty lawyer heading the Employment Development Department; Willie R. Barnes, 43, corporations commissioner, heading the department in which he has worked since 1960; and Leonard M. Grimes Jr., 51-year-old insurance executive, director of the Department of General Services. Grimes and Barnes are black.

Governor's office

Brown seems likely to surround himself, at least at the outset, with fewer personal staff members than did his predecessor. So far, these are:

- **Bill Stall**, 37, former Associated Press political writer; director of public affairs and press secretary.
- **LeRoy Chatfield**, 40, administrative officer for the United Farm Workers Organization, AFL-CIO, 1972-73; director of administration.
- **J. Anthony Kline**, 36, former president of Public Advocates of San Francisco and before that a New York attorney in major corporation litigation (and a college roommate of Brown); director of legal affairs.
- **Carlotta Herman Mellon**, 28, professor of history and women's studies at Pomona College; appointments assistant.
- **Alice Daniel**, 40, acting executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California; assistant director of legal affairs.
- **Marc Poché**, 40, a University of Santa Clara law professor, is the Governor's director of programs and policy.
- **Paul Halvonik**, 35, former legal director for the ACLU of Northern California, is legislative secretary, Brown's ambassador to the Legislature.

Whatever else these people may have in common, they also share a slight acquaintance with public administration. Their experience with government has more often than not been an adversary relationship. The poor, the needy, the endangered species and the environment — all have representation in high places as the Brown administration gets underway.

The new legislative alignment

McCarthy's new Democratic team runs everything in the Assembly, but the Young Turk takeover of the Senate isn't quite complete

When Jesse Unruh walked into the Assembly chamber last month to take the oath of office as state treasurer, he might have had a little difficulty getting his bearings. Not that the physical surroundings had changed much since the years when he ran the house as speaker. Nor had the procedures changed much in the four years since he had left to run against Ronald Reagan for governor. But hardly anyone who was anyone when Unruh ran the show is around any longer. And those who are don't wield much power.

Had Unruh walked into the state Senate, however, he would have been more at home. The Democratic majority of the Rules Committee, which runs the Senate, is composed of three senators who all previously served as Assembly chairmen and close associates of Unruh — President pro Tempore James R. Mills of San Diego, Nicholas Petris of Oakland and Joseph Kennick of Long Beach. And both of the minority members, Robert Stevens of Los Angeles and Clare Berryhill of Stanislaus County, also served in the Assembly with Unruh.

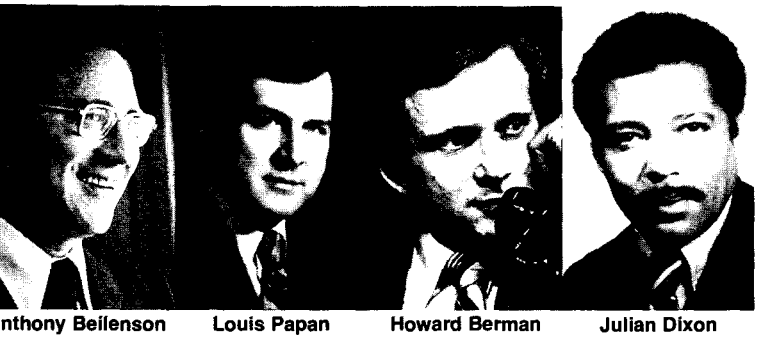
Significant changes

The committee assignments for both houses show that the power structure has changed dramatically in the Assembly and that significant, if not overwhelming, gains were made by the liberals and "Young Turks" in the Senate. Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy of San Francisco gave his party the chairmanship of all 20 standing committees and a majority on all but one (the relatively unimportant Intergovernmental Relations Committee, which has a 4-4 split, with one vacancy). Many of the chairmen weren't even in the Legislature in 1970, when Unruh departed. These include John Thurman, Agriculture; Barry Keene, Health; Bill Lockyer, Human Resources; Julian Dixon, Public Employees and Retirement; Daniel Boatwright, Revenue and Taxation; and Walter Ingalls, Transportation. The veterans who supported McCarthy's rival for the speakership, Willie Brown, lost some of their key committee posts. McCarthy, who was a freshman during Unruh's last term, rewarded the younger members of the house with key posts for their support: The speaker pro tempore is Louis Papan, the majority leader is Howard Berman, and the Democratic caucus chairman is Dixon. All are starting their second terms.

Here are some of the more important committee assignments made by McCarthy:

- The Criminal Justice Committee, which has controlled penal legislation in the Legislature for many years, now has a decidedly liberal look. The four Democrats on the committee, including the veteran John Knox, will probably stop most bills seeking to increase penalties for crimes. And they will probably look kindly upon bills reducing or eliminating penalties for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



nthony Beilenson Louis Papan Howard Berman Julian Dixon

so-called victimless crimes. The two Republicans on the panel are the moderate Ken Maddy and the conservative freshman Bruce Nestande.

- The 15-member Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee was given a house cleaning. Several Democrats close to McCarthy were placed on the panel, which should prove a rougher forum than it has in the past for banks and insurance firms.
- The Resources and Land-Use Committee, headed by Edwin L. Z'berg, is loaded with environmentalists. Organizations like the Planning and Conservation League and the Sierra Club could march almost anything through such a panel.
- The Ways and Means Committee will have a lopsided Democratic advantage, 13-6, and most of the Democrats are close McCarthy allies (including Chairman John Foran, Berman, Boatwright, Papan, Sieroty and Z'berg).

Those who supported Willie Brown for the speakership were punished, but not always by the loss of all choice assignments. Brown himself was given three mediocre assignments — Human Resources, Transportation, Urban Development and Housing. He was removed from the Ways and Means Committee, and not given a chairmanship.

But the need for experience outweighed political revenge in a few other cases: Leroy Greene of Sacramento was restored to the chairmanship of the Education Committee; John Knox retained his Local Government chairmanship (although he was removed from Ways and Means); and Charles Warren was kept at the helm of the Energy and Diminishing Materials Committee (and was retained on Ways and Means). McCarthy also as much as conceded a shortage of leadership talent among his followers by naming Caucus Chairman Julian Dixon to head the Public Employees and Retirement Committee. (Previously, the unofficial code of wealth distribution called for the caucus chairman not to hold a chairmanship as well.)

Senate assignments

In the Senate, by contrast, the new liberal Democratic leadership decided to be relatively kind to the "Old Guard" minority that sought to remove Mills in favor of Democrat George Zenovich of Fresno. The liberals took charge of the pivotal Finance Committee by placing Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles in charge, and demoting the veteran Randolph Collier to his former job as chairman of the Transportation Committee (technically, at his own request). In judging the makeup of Senate committees, a strict partisan breakdown can be deceptive because Bay Area Republicans Peter Behr, Milton Marks and John Nejedly often vote with the liberals, especially on environmental and consumer issues. Only one of the 17 committees, Agriculture and Water Resources, has a Republican majority (5-4). Another, Business and Professions, is tied, 4-4, with one vacancy; but five committees are chaired by Republicans — Behr, Insurance and Financial Institutions; Marks, Local Government; Nejedly, Natural Resources and Wildlife; Howard Way, Agriculture, and Jack Schrade, Business and Professions.

Schrade was one of several members of the bipartisan "Old Guard" with traditional ties to corporate lobbyists to get chairmanships from the Rules Committee. Others include Collier, Transportation; Zenovich, Industrial Relations; and Ralph Dills, Governmental Organization.

Although the Senate has a much more liberal tinge than it has had for many years, the takeover is far from being complete (as it is in the Assembly). Assignments to a few key committees illustrate the point:

Finance. Chairman Beilenson has only six clear liberal votes on the 13-member panel. The swing votes will be cast by fiscal moderates like Democrats John Holmdahl, Collier and Walter Stiern.

Public Employment and Retirement. This is the committee that could consider collective bargaining plans for public employees. Not a single member on the committee (Chairman James Wedworth, Democrats Joseph Kennick and Alan Robbins and Republicans Newton Russell and Schrade) can be considered as cinch votes for organized labor (although none have strong anti-labor records either). To get a bill out of the Industrial Relations Committee, labor will also have to get votes from Robbins, freshman Bob Presley and Chairman Zenovich. The only solid liberal vote on that committee is Albert Rodda of Sacramento.

Judiciary. This panel, headed by Democrat Alfred Song, handles a double caseload, because the Senate has no committee comparable to Criminal Justice. The 11-member panel has five liberals; Robbins and Presley are the swing votes.

Governmental Organization. This once was one of the most powerful committees in the Legislature, because it was used by Old Guard leaders as the repository for measures that were to be put to sleep. Since the defeat of the Old Guard, its importance has been greatly diminished. Nevertheless, it still gets some important measures. The overall complexion of the committee remains unchanged — relatively conservative and far from under Mills' control.

Committee importance

Probably the most liberal committee in the Senate is Health and Welfare, which is headed by Arlen Gregorio, a Democrat. Seven of its nine members are considered liberal on the issues that will come before the committee, the exceptions being Republicans Schrade and James Whetmore.

In effect, the Rules Committee created two transportation committees — the one headed by Collier and the other, Public Utilities, Transit and Energy, chaired by Alfred Alquist of San Jose. Transportation is the subject most dear to Mills' heart, and he loaded both panels with supporters of mass transit, including himself.

Committee structure is all important in understanding the legislative process. It is at the committee level where most of the crucial decisions are made. Bills that clear committees usually are approved on the floor, and this should be especially true for the next two years, with both houses having huge Democratic majorities. In the Assembly, it is clear that Speaker McCarthy and the Democratic caucus can call almost all the shots. In the Senate, Mills and associates have strengthened their hold, but the Old Guard retains a piece of the action. ED SALZMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The shape of Brown's first budget

- *Reminiscent of Reagan*
- *Disappointing to educators*
- *Cushioned against hard times*
- *Drafted by the Governor himself*

By ED SALZMAN

Now we know one of the key personality traits of the New Spirit: Do-it-yourself.

Correspondents marched into the Capitol's press conference room January 9th expecting to get the usual budget briefing from acting Finance Director Roy Bell (who has been attending to the details of budgets for 29 years as a civil servant under five governors). Instead, they were greeted by Governor Brown, who had been in office only four days but had spent a month going over every item in the budget with Bell and Bell's chief assistant, Ed Beach. Brown announced that he would answer questions that morning about general fiscal policy and then would let Bell run through the numbers in the budget. The surprise: Reporters were invited to meet with Brown again in the afternoon, after they had had a chance to read the budget document, and quiz him on details. Which they did.

Jerry Brown wrote his own budget. That is clear from the numerous changes in the format of the document (down from three books to one, for example, and from 1,937 pages to 821). Significantly, the traditional letter of transmittal from the finance director to the governor is omitted; it was unnecessary because Brown made all the decisions himself. Bell, Beach and company were in the act to give Brown background and to present policy options. Some decisions were left unmade, but there is plenty of time to make them before the final spending program will be enacted in June.

Document's significance

Most budgets introduced in January, especially during economically unstable times, are relatively meaningless. This is because they are drastically revised in May (when economic forecasts are presented to the Legislature) and the totals inevitably move higher. Brown recognized this in calling his budget book "only paper". What really counts is the book of appropriations he signs at the end of June after it has filtered through the legislative process. Nevertheless, the Brown administration's first budget was significant for several reasons:

- Brown elected to employ the budget rather than his inaugural speech to spell out his philosophy of government.
- He showed that he meant his campaign pledge to keep spending down and not raise taxes.
- He let it be known that the Brown administration will be run by the Governor personally and not through a delegation of powers. Unlike his predecessor, he will not act as a chairman of the board; Brown will *be* the board, chief executive and top fiscal officer. How long one person can continue to keep a finger on so many elements of state government (although Ronald Reagan's top aide, Ed Meese, managed to do it) is anyone's guess.

The budget total of $11.3 billion is only 4.3 percent above the estimated current level of state spending. But that figure does not take into account the probability that Brown put off decisions on capital outlay, and a more meaningful figure is the 8 percent boost in spending for local assistance and state operations. Still, the overall budget increase is lower than the average of the Reagan years and is clearly conservative.

No governor in recent years has been forced to present a spending program under such unstable economic conditions. Brown forecast that the state will end the

Key budget facts

Total — $11.3 billion, up 4.3 percent from the estimated current level of spending, up 15.3 percent from the budget introduced last year and up 10.8 percent from the budget signed into law by Governor Reagan last year.

New taxes — none.

Economic forecast — more hard times ahead but with improvement starting in the third quarter of 1975.

Where money goes — education, 35.9 percent; health and welfare, 27.3 percent; property tax relief, 11.2 percent; business and transportation, 7.7 percent.

How money is raised — sales tax, 24.5 percent; personal income tax, 27.4 percent; highway-user taxes, 10.7 percent; bank and corporation tax, 9.7 percent.

Year-end projected surplus — $574 million on June 30, 1976, up $24 million from that projected for June 30, 1975.

State employees — 201,357, an increase of almost

Pay raises — 8.5 percent for civil servants and University of California and state-college-system employees, 13.4 percent for judges. Total cost: $192 million.

Federal aid — $6 billion, about the same as the current fiscal year.

Outstanding bonded debt — $5.4 billion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1975-76 fiscal year with a surplus of $574 million, up $22 million from next June 30th. That may look like plenty of money as a hedge against depression, but it represents only 5 percent of the total. And that amount could evaporate almost overnight if revenues took a downward turn and the state had to spend more for welfare and Medi-Cal. (Legislative Analyst Alan Post has challenged Brown's social-welfare allocations as too low.)

Brown's economic package assumes that the gross national product will continue to erode during the first half of the year but that improvement will begin in the third quarter. This represents a consensus of economists, but Bell concedes that some of these have become more pessimistic, and state economists are not optimistic about curbing inflation. In terms of real dollars (with elimination of a cost-of-living factor), Brown's budget is lower than Reagan's final spending program. Here are the economic assumptions on which Brown's budget is based:

	1974	1974	% change
	(Dollars expressed in billions)		
Personal income	$124	$136	9.4
Consumer price index (inflation)	$444	$160	10.8
Real personal income	$86	$85	-1.2
Corporate profits	$12	$10	-11.1
Taxable sales	$68	$74	7.9
Auto sales (units)	840,000	775,000	-7.7
Housing units authorized	123,000	115,000	-6.5
Civilian employment	8,335,000	8,360,000	0.1
Unemployment rate	7.8%	9.3%	

These figures, gloomy as they might appear, were used to compute the state's estimated revenues and are thus the basis for the forecast of the $574 million surplus. The only significant anticipated decrease in revenues is $135 million from bank and corporation profits.

The Governor's budget message — "I went over it word by word, comma by comma; I wanted you to understand my philosophy," Brown said — recognizes the economic crisis of state and nation as the critical factor in establishing a level of state spending. The message states: "The economic uncertainty now facing the people of California requires that new state spending be held to a minimum . . . . The first test of all of us, and government is no exception, is to live within realistic limits . . . . We will maintain a prudent surplus. There will be no general tax increase . . . . The realities of the present economy make unwise anything more than minimal expansion of most state programs. Some departments will actually receive less money than they were given in the current year." Those words could well have been written by Ronald Reagan.

Brown said that he had had only four weeks to prepare his "no-nonsense budget" and that he will tune the package finely before the May revision must be presented. But he did lay out his three basic fiscal principles:

- "We cannot spend more than we take in during the coming year. The current surplus is a minimum reserve in a period of economic uncertainty . . .. I will oppose any legislation which would reduce necessary revenues or raise general taxes [as opposed to the closing of so-called loopholes]."
- "Better government does not always require more spending. Where additional funds are truly needed — for political reform, environmental protection, educational excellence and job development — this budget provides them. But across state government, what is needed is not simply more money, but a new spirit."
- "This budget recognizes no sacred cows. No program expenditure is accepted merely because it has been made in the past, or rejected just because it does not conform to conventional wisdom."

Principles along these lines have been laid down by al-

Comparison of expenditures (in millions)

	1973-4 actual	1974-5 estimated	1975-6 proposed
State Operations			
General government	$307	$543	$738
Agriculture and services	146	168	181
Business and transportation	443	496	520
Resources	153	186	187
Health and welfare	288	345	350
Education	940	1,078	1,132
(less savings)	(17)	(31)	(27)
Totals	**2,258**	**2,785**	**3,081**
Capital Outlay			
General government	—	10	9
Agriculture and services	4	11	—
Business and transportation	260	228	284
Resources	206	338	183
Health and welfare	6	24	11
Education	209	234	51
Totals	**685**	**845**	**539**
Local assistance			
General government	1,825	1,959	2,045
Agriculture and services	15	33	23
Business and transportation	34	74	42
Resources	52	94	91
Health and welfare	1,926	2,340	2,649
Education	2,514	2,704	2,832
Totals	**6,368**	**7,205**	**7,682**
Grand Totals	**9,311**	**10,835**	**11,303**

Revenue collections (in millions)

Levy	Actual 1973-74	Estimated 1974-75	Estimated 1975-76	Percent of total 1975-76
General Fund:				
Sales and use	$2.675.7	$3,360.0	$3,681.0	34.2
Personal income	1,832.0	2,520.0	$2,950.0	27.4
Bank & corporation	1,057.2	1,180.0	1,045.0	9.7
Inheritance and gift	231.9	227.0	233.0	2.2
Insurance	201.7	204.0	223.5	2.1
Cigarette	181.6	187.0	192.6	1.8
Alcoholic beverage	127.4	130.6	135.0	1.3
Horseracing	64.7	71.4	73.8	0.7
Private car	7.3	7.7	8.2	0.1
Other sources	308.9	355.9	41.71	3.8
Totals, General Fund	**$6,688.4**	**$8,243.2**	**$8,959.2**	**83.1**
Special Funds:				
Motor Vehicle:				
Fuels	$742.7	$767.0	$796.0	7.4
License fees	311.2	325.0	355.0	3.3
Registration, etc.	333.3	344.4	350.3	3.3
Transportation	6.4	.5	—	—
Cigarette	77.4	80.1	82.5	0.8
Sales	—	7.5	27.0	0.3
Alcoholic beverage	13.1	13.9	14.2	0.1
Horseracing	13.6	10.2	9.6	0.1
Other sources	244.6	251.2	182.2	1.7
Totals, Special Funds	**$1,742.2**	**$1,799.9**	**$1,816.8**	**16.9**
Grand Totals	**$8,430.6**	**$10,043.1**	**$10,776.0**	**100.0**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most every governor — but Brown seems to mean them more than most.

Perhaps the most critical of these choices involved education. University of California officials had been complaining for eight years that Reagan was undernourishing the University system. The public schools were hoping that Brown would appropriate a large sum for at least a partial solution to the *Serrano* decision outlawing the present school-finance system, which is based on the local property tax. But the educational establishment clearly was disappointed in Brown's proposals.

University of California. The UC Regents requested $591 million for the next fiscal year, and Brown offered $543 (plus salary increases). And Finance Director Bell warned that the appropriation will be cut further if the expected enrollment increase of 3.4 percent fails to materialize.

State University and Colleges. The trustees sought $520 million, and Brown proposed $499 million (plus salary increases). Both of these higher education systems consider their capital-outlay budgets to be cut to the bone, but Brown maintains that these items are still under scrutiny. The budget assumes a slight reduction in enrollment in the college system.

Community colleges. Under legislation enacted last year, the state contribution will rise by $50 million, to $382 million.

Public schools (K-12). Average daily attendance is projected at 4.6 million, a reduction of about 25,000. State school apportionments would rise by about $80 million, to $1,998 million, an increase of about 4 percent. State Schools Superintendent Wilson Riles was unable to receive an increase of about $30 million, to $70 million in his pet project, early-childhood education. Riles said the allocations are sufficient to keep programs at their present levels but not enough to make improvements. Brown showed no evidence of wanting to tackle the *Serrano* problem because of the economic uncertainties and because the state Supreme Court has yet to give its final word on the case.

This year, it appears, there will be relatively little controversy over salaries. Brown budgeted 8.5 percent for all state employees, as recommended by the State Personnel Board. This amounts to $112 million for civil-service employees, $40 million for University of California personnel, and $39 million for workers in the State University and Colleges. Judges will receive a 13.4 percent increase because their salaries are, by law, based on a December-to-December cost-of-living formula that worked to their benefit this year. Bell concedes, however, that the increases for others are insufficient to keep pace with inflation. (UC sought a 10.8 percent hike and the colleges 9.4 percent.)

Here are some other significant increases in the budget:

- Welfare is up $162 million to cover a modest caseload increase and a cost-of-living boost in benefits.
- Medi-Cal is up $92 million, partly to provide increases to those who provide health services.
- The budget contains $69 million in unspecified allocations to meet costs attributable solely to inflation.
- The Air Resources Board would get $10.7 million more for an auto-inspection program and stepped-up pollution research.
- An additional $2.2 million would be spent for enforcement of the new political reform measures.
- The total spent for property-tax relief would increase 6 percent to $1.24 billion. This is more than 10 percent of the entire budget.

There is nothing particularly unusual about these increases; items like them are in every budget. But this document also contained some significant policy decisions, although they may not involve many dollars. These start with Brown cutting $220,000 or 7.6 percent from the appropriation for the governor's office. The Legislature did not respond in kind, but at least the Assembly for the first time provided a line-item breakdown of its contingency fund. (The Senate declined to follow suit.) Brown eliminated the $1 million Department of Commerce, slashed the budget of the Military Department $315,000, and halted Reagan's controversial "work or else" experimental welfare project, called the California Community Work Experience Program, by chopping all $130,000 from the budget. The Historic Preservation Commission had a budget of only a few hundred dollars, but Brown wiped out all of it, calling the organization a "boondoggle".

New arts council

Two of Brown's most significant moves don't involve money directly. He proposed to abolish the California Arts Commission and shift its $1 million appropriation to a new California Arts Development Council, promising to spell out its membership and functions in later legislation. Arts commission leaders were shocked because they thought Brown was going to provide a substantial increase in support for the arts. For most Californians, Brown's proposed reorganization of the environmental control organizations will have far more impact. By executive order, he put his top ecology aide and former campaign manager, Tom Quinn, in charge of the Air Resources Board, the Water Resources Control Board and the Solid Waste Management Board. Legislation along these lines was defeated by the last Legislature. The merger could be approved this year, however, *if* key lawmakers are convinced (as they weren't last year) that it will produce a tougher stand on cleansing the environment.

Brown's first budget could hardly be met with criticism by Republicans. In style and content, it is clearly conservative. But the large numbers and organizational proposals have little impact on the public. The typical Californian is far more impressed with Brown's simple lifestyle. Californians have never had a governor who passed up a mansion for an apartment, a limousine for a sedan, and a formal inaugural ball for an evening of do-it-yourself work on the state budget.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The GOP road to recovery

By DOUGLAS HALLETT

Nine years ago, state GOP Chairman Paul Haerle was just another San Francisco lawyer with a conservative bent acquired during undergraduate days at Bill Buckley's Yale. Caspar Weinberger was a former assemblyman and defeated attorney-general candidate regarded by many as leader of the state party's liberal wing. Bob Finch had managed campaigns for Richard Nixon and George Murphy without a trace of ideological fervor. But all three, and many even more disparate than they, came together under the half-Goldwater, half-Kennedy banner of Ronald Reagan and, in time, produced a state administration that set a pattern for the most innovative moves of the subsequent Nixon administration in government reorganization, welfare reform, and program decentralization.

There is little doubt but that a majority in California is still willing to support Republicans who can offer that kind of government. Scarcely two years ago, former President Nixon defeated George McGovern in a clear-cut ideological contest by a landslide of 1,126,249 votes in California. State Attorney General Evelle Younger garnered a 55 percent victory in the last election against what many thought was the most attractive member on the Democratic ticket. Thoughtful Republicans like Peter Behr and Dennis Carpenter won handily in their state Senate re-election races.

Republican 'mandate'

Indeed, though disastrous for Republicans, the last election was almost a mandate for Republicanism. Michigan Democratic gubernatorial candidate Sander Levin scored incumbent Republican William Milliken for not instituting Reagan-style welfare reform soon enough. Newly elected Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis has talked of the same 10 percent across-the-board budget cut Governor Reagan sought to initiate when he took over in Sacramento. And the new chief executive, Edmund G. Brown Jr., won his victory at least partly on an implicit endorsement of his predecessor's welfare-reform policies, a similar hard-line outlook on crime, and verbal blasts at "the kind of '60s liberalism that involves throwing money at every problem."

In casting out so many Republicans last November, the electorate was not so much revolting against Republican principles as, along with Watergate and the economy, against the apparent absence (or at least invisibility) of those principles in the last Republican campaign. Houston Flournoy, who a decade earlier had presaged the revival of programmatic Republicanism as a "young turk" assemblyman, ran a campaign too often satisfied with scurrilous jabs at Governor Brown's bachelorhood. Paul Haerle and the state party organization were reduced to name-calling attacks on "Junior Brown". And Lyn Nofziger, in the December issue of *California Journal*, told us that "all the Republicans really have had going for them politically are the mistakes, feuds, and caliber of candidates contributed by Democratic Party" and advised "an effective propadanda program" as the panacea for our ills. [See "Reviving the GOP elephant," *CJ*, December 1974.]

All have ignored the fact that Republicans have won the state capitol historically only when they have succeeded in subordinating their fratricidal conservative-liberal conflicts to a *policy* platform that takes the best from both wings of the party. Governor Brown's emphasis on election reform and his close identification with Proposition 9 take its precedent from Republican Hiram Johnson's efforts to free state government from the strangle-hold of the railroads at the turn of the century through such means as cross-filing, the initiative and the referendum. The stress too often placed now by Democrats on making the state government an effective vehicle for relieving indefensible social and economic injustices dates back to Earl Warren's initiatives in such fields as education and transportation, which had been neglected by his Democratic predecessor, Cuthbert Olson. The "new spirit" of Edmund G. Brown Jr. owes many of its themes of personal freedom to the "creative society" of Ronald Reagan.

Republicans can note that Governor Reagan left office with 60 percent of the electorate believing that he had done a "good job" in an overwhelmingly Democratic year precisely because he relied for the most part on programmatic and not cosmetic or negativist appeals; he did his damnedest to hold down the state budget and succeeded in keeping state employment at the level it was when he took office; he pushed through major welfare-reform and property-tax-relief programs; he demonstrated a firm commitment to higher education, both by giving it an expenditure boost twice that of the rest of the state government and by insisting on an orderly, academic environment; he showed an impressive capacity for growth and constructive action in areas like catastrophic health insurance and environmental protection; and, perhaps most significantly, he understood and, with a few notable exceptions, could articulately address the social trends that have been shaking the nation since the middle of the last decade.

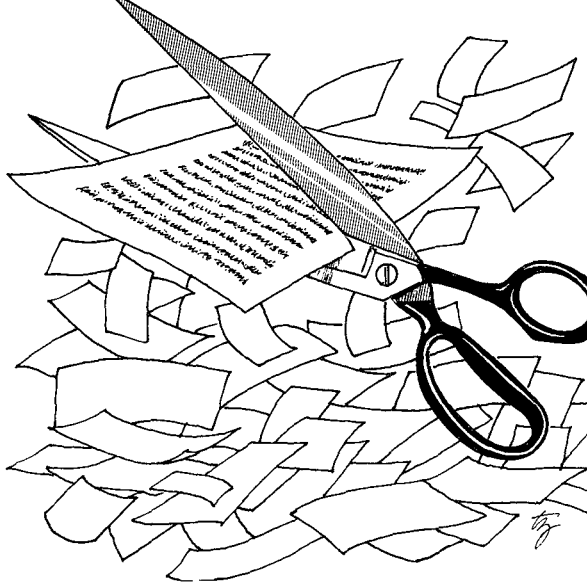
Now, while the social trends that earlier sparked campus unrest spread through the rest of society, Republicans may have another chance. George Wallace's attacks on foundations, the media, high taxes, and government bureaucracy echo the same concern for individual independence that Mario Savio, from a far different perspective, shouted from the steps of Berkeley's Sproul Hall a decade ago. Today's growing recognition of the limits on our capacity to manipulate the economy and our natural resources has translated into a fierce desire among many Californians to safeguard their privacy and their lifestyles. By recapturing that spirit of eight years ago and by ignoring those who seek clever catchwords and slogans instead, the Republicans still have a chance of making these social trends their own.

Douglas Hallett, a former Nixon White House aide at Harvard Law School, has been active in California politics since the 1966 Reagan campaign.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE 7-MINUTE INAUGURAL

The new Governor's agenda for California



The following is the complete text of the inaugural address of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., delivered January 6, 1975, before a joint session of the Legislature:

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, members of the judiciary, friends. While we won't come again to this rostrum for awhile -- as a matter of fact I wasn't sure I was going to make it — don't think my father thought I was going to make it either, but here I am.

Well, this morning I am not going to give you a formalistic address. I just want to tell you what's on my mind, what my hopes are for the people of California in the coming year. First, I think we ought to put this whole thing into perspective.

We've all come through an election. And what have we learned? That more than half the people who voted, more than half the people who could have voted, refused, apparently believing that what we do here has so little impact on their lives that they need not pass judgment on it. In other words, the biggest vote of all in November was a vote of no confidence, so our first order of business is to regain the trust and confidence of the people we serve. And we can begin by not only following the letter, but the spirit of the political reform initiative, the biggest vote-getter of all the primary election. The provisions of Proposition 9 will not always be easy to follow, but I honestly believe that they are the surest and most certain path to a government beyond reproach.

But an honest government is not enough. We also have to be effective.

* * *

Today, unemployment in this state is well above the national average. It's not just a statistic, it's a reality — men and women whose futures are uncertain, whose families are anxious, and who look to us for answers. I know much of the solution lies at the federal level. But I also know that California is the most influential state in the nation. What we do here will not only help our own citizens, it will provide a model for the entire country.

Very shortly, I will sign an executive order requiring every state agency and department to actively participate in federally funded public-service employment programs. Before the month is out, hundreds of men and women who are on unemployment or welfare will be performing meaningful jobs.

My administration will work closely with the federal government. We are going to use to the fullest the millions of dollars available to put Californians back to work. And we are going to cooperate with local government and industry to create as many new jobs as humanly possible.

And as we do, we are not going to ignore the role of women in our work force, and the special needs for additional child-care centers. Both men and women will have an equal opportunity to obtain every available job. In this, I look to the Legislature for assistance and guidance. I look to the state employees to make this program a reality.

Finally, no employment program will be successful without the help of labor and business. The private sector still is, as well as should be, the principal source of employment. For our part, the state must cut through the tangle of overlapping environmental and land-use rules which delay needed construction. In the long run, the air, the water and the land will be protected, but only by the clear rules which are fairly enforced and without delay.

* * *

Now just as critical as unemployment is inflation, the cruelest tax of all. Again, major initiatives are required at the national level. But nothing prevents us from doing what we can. And we do that first by keeping the burden of state taxation at a level no higher than it is today.

Avoiding a general tax increase will not be easy. Rising unemployment means reduced state revenues as well as escalating expenditures for health and welfare, but I'm determined to see this year through without asking the people for further sacrifice in the form of new taxes. And this means that every branch and department of state government must re-examine itself with a view toward eliminating expenditures not absolutely essential to the well-being of the people. For my part, I propose a flat 7 percent reduction in my own office budget. The uncertainty of the economy as well as the need to provide a fair system of school finance make it imperative to keep state expenditures well within credit revenues.

I also believe it's time to end special privileges once and for all. I'll support legislation to eliminate the oil-depletion allowance and provide a realistic minimum tax on preference income. In addition, I'll support constitutional amendments to remove the home-office deduction for insurance companies and the requirement of a two-thirds vote to alter business taxes.

And while we remove the special privileges of the few we should not overlook the sacrifices of the many. It's time that we treat all workers alike, whether they work in the city or toil in the fields. This year, I hope you'll give the Governor another chance to sign an appropriate bill including farm workers within the protection of unemployment insurance. I also believe it's time to extend the rule of law to the agricultural sector and establish the right of secret-ballot election for farm workers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The law I support will impose rights and responsibilities on both farm worker and farmer alike, and I expect that an appropriate bill that serves all the people will not fully satisfy any of the parties to the dispute, but that's no reason not to pass it.

As we bring collective bargaining to the fields, we should also establish appropriate mechanisms for public employees to choose the bargaining representative of their choice. All workers, whoever they are and wherever they are, strongly should be represented and have an effective voice in the decisions that affect their wages and working conditions.

It's a big job ahead. The rising cost of energy, the depletion of our resources, the threat to the environment, the uncertainty in our economy and the monetary system, the lack of faith in government, the drift in political moral leadership — it's not the work of one person. It's the work of all of us, working together. I ask your help.

Thank you very much. We have a lot of work to do. Let's get to it.

. . . and an appraisal by the opposition

As in previous years, California Journal *invited a representative of the opposition party to respond to the Governor's inaugural remarks. The author of the following article is Assemblyman Robert G. Beverly, Assembly minority leader.*

What we expected was a lofty and detailed inaugural state-of-the-state address, the traditional seat-squirmer that kicks off the long year to come. What we got was a Spartan, seven-minute mini-inaugural that left legislators wondering if the new Governor's brevity signaled command or evasion of the problems ahead.

Governor Jerry Brown's tone and temperament probably said more than his words. Though he offered little that was "new" or "spirited", he hinted at a degree of restraint and sobriety which betrays those who warned that his fiscal policies would be "something to the left of 'whoopee' ". In fact, many of Brown's early comments since taking office are not unlike those you'd expect to hear from Ronald Reagan and his winged-tipped, narrow-lapelled fiscal advisors:

- ". . . Every branch and department of state government must re-examine itself with a view toward eliminating expenditures. . . ." (*Brown's inaugural.*)
- "I just don't think pouring money down a pipeline is going to motivate people to live differently . . . ." (*To a questioner in Watts.*)
- "The day of '60s liberalism, where all you do is add money to chase programs and hire professionals . . . , that's over with . . . ." (*To newsmen at the presentation of the budget.*)

Hugh Flournoy said that he hoped he was wrong, but feared Brown would be a disaster for California. Surprisingly, the first person to utter the word "disastrous" in reference to anything Brown has done since taking office was state schools chief Wilson Riles in reaction to apparent budget cuts in early-childhood-education programs. In Brown's words, "[I'm] just . . . coming to terms with [fiscal] reality."

When he first began tinkering with the state's new budget — presumably during the transition period in late November — Brown was handed for light reading some fairly somber economic news from the legislative analyst and other fiscal experts in and out of state government:

- An estimated $200 million to $300 million revenue gap for '75-'76 based on a business-as-usual budget.
- A 9 to 10 percent unemployment rate estimate for calendar year '75.
- A 10 to 11 percent rate of inflation.
- A current budget that failed to finance inflation (the '74-'75 budget was based on a 6.1 percent rate of inflation against an actual rate of over 10 percent).

And, for conversation, he had scores of Democratic legislators eager to talk about getting a slice of the state's large but precarious budget surplus, $400 million to $500 million in potential "mad money".

This is the stuff that makes a grown man mature or stick his head in the sand. Based on his early performance, he has chosen the former course. On fiscal affairs, he has said the things that need to be said; he has offered the modest budget that needs to be enacted. But as he himself noted when unveiling his $11.3 billion spending proposal to the press: "Remember, this is just paper until I sign it."

The real test is yet to come. How he responds will determine whether he is able to make good on his inaugural commitment: "I am determined to see this year through without asking the people for further sacrifice."

The Renaissance men of the post-Watergate election (and Brown is among them) are not without their own special-interest pressures. When the Democratic boat came steaming into Sacramento this year, Assemblyman Flotsam and Senator Jetsam washed into port, too. It happens with just about all election sweeps — the quality of people elected is diminished.

Many legislators simply won't be able to ignore the pressures applied by the interests that helped to elect them. Big money items will be tacked onto the budget. More than $80 million in direct appropriation proposals had already been introduced in the Legislature before New Year's Day, chiefly by Democrats. The C.T.A., C.S.E.A., and A.F.L./C.I.O., to name a few, invested heavily in the elections. They expect to see results. Brown, for his part, appears to be holding up better than most against the pressure. But his bottom-line test will come when he pulls out the blue pencil in June. Reagan vetoed and blue-pencilled $474 million in legislative spending proposals in 1974 — an amount about equal to the total increases Brown has proposed for '75-'76. In his eight years, Reagan quashed about $2.3 billion in legislative spending proposals

Given the makeup of the Legislature, Brown will indeed have his hands full this spring when he sees what they've done to his $11.3 billion, no-nonsense budget. If he has an advantage, it's his liberal credentials. Potentially, they allow him to trim spending without being accused of being "anti-intellectual", "anti-poor-people", or "anti-kids-under-30".

In short, he may find useful the same political principle that allowed Nixon — but no one to his left — to befriend a billion Red Chinese without being labelled a @#%&*.

But, lest one gets the idea that Ronald Reagan still occupies the corner office, it should be noted that austerity was not the new Governor's only inaugural message. And here's where the problems creep up.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bob Beverly

Jobs and unemployment. Sure, all federal dollars available should be used to put people to work. And it's just about a foregone conclusion: Farm workers will be covered by unemployment insurance. But, to quote the Governor, ". . . the private sector still is, as well it should be, the principal source of employment." Therefore, I would caution against promoting *disincentives* for business activity and economic growth in California. For example, if unemployment-insurance-benefit coverage is expanded and extended and increased beyond a given point, employer contribution rates will go up and hiring will drop. And, if the two-thirds vote required to alter bank-and-corporation taxes is dropped to a simple majority, both business and *personal* taxes will go up with far greater ease than is the case today — further depressing economic growth.

Inflation. Despite the Governor's assurances, state personal tax rates will go up — indeed, they are going up — if the status quo is maintained, thanks to a rate of inflation which drives taxpayers into the higher tax brackets of our graduated personal income tax system. A remedial adjustment is needed, but the open-ended question asks if *this* is the year to reduce state revenues?

Collective bargaining. One must assume that Brown intends to grant public employees, including public-safety workers, binding arbitration or strike rights. This is potentially the biggest cost item on any state's agenda. Financially crimped local governments will enjoy a split-second chuckle if we send them a collective-bargaining package which includes "undetermined" local costs. It is doubtful that the people of California will much appreciate such a present for state and local public employees when most workers in the private sector are tickled to death just to have a job.

Closing the "loopholes", or "populist fever". If a uniform, flat, across-the-board state tax policy were applied to all businesses in California, it could reduce the level of demagoguery in the Legislature by a healthy 6 percent. And at no loss in revenues.

Unfortunately, political reality says we're stuck with a hodge-podge of business taxes which requires reformers to clamp piece-meal penalties on top of exemptions in the name of equity. Pluck the *oil-depletion allowance* out of the hodge-podge, and you pick up maybe $30 million, drive a couple of small, independent oil companies out of business, and add a little pressure on the upward tilt of oil prices. Increase the minimum tax on *preference income*, such as the untaxed income derived from municipal bonds, capital gains, and accelerated depreciation, and you diminish the level of economic activity just a bit and perhaps raise state revenues a little. The *home office* property-tax deduction for insurance companies is, however, in all probability, indefensible; yet so, too, is the inordinately higher state tax rate most insurance companies will be forced to pay without some kind of adjustment in the gross premiums tax.

Farm labor relations. One can only hope that the remedy the Governor has in mind will truly fail to ". . . fully satisfy any of the parties to the dispute." The fear is that Brown's notion of a Chavez compromise is to hold the mariachi band at contract-signing ceremonies. Brown stressed the "secret ballot"; the key to compromise is probably the secondary boycott. Given the enormous role agriculture must play in a commodity-short world, growers and consumers alike can do without secondary boycotts and harvest-time disruptions.

As for some of the other issues posed by Brown, few dispute the compelling need to recapture the confidence of that majority of the voting age population that didn't bother (or care) to vote. For our part, the Legislature might consider some "Salditchian" reforms of internal operations, like eliminating proxy-voting in committee, opening the contingency fund and disallowing "appropriations by fiat", such as the steam-car project, methanol research, or junkets to Jerusalem. [See "Capitol reporter's plan for legislative reform," by Martin Salditch, in December's *CJ*.]

And, yes, women must be given an "equal opportunity to obtain jobs" in government; specifically, I hope Brown will make good use of the "open registry" of appointive positions authored by Assemblyman Ken Maddy last session to let people throughout the state know just exactly which and when executive positions are open. And, yes, the "tangle of overlapping environmental rules . . . which delay needed construction" must be cleared. And, we should also move a responsible housing-finance bond issue to stimulate a depressed construction industry and put home ownership back within reach of average-income Californians.

I don't think it's worthwhile to impose a great deal of significance on what *wasn't* said. But an impressive and often confounding laundry list of important state issues did escape the Governor's official acknowledgement:

- Fair-trade laws and price-fixing practices need to be probed to ensure a competitive market-place.
- The prison system is in bad shape and something has to be done to break the strangle-hold on action that a small group of assemblymen — holding out for Utopia — have imposed.
- The juvenile-justice system is badly in need of reform.
- Air-pollution control efforts have become a comedy of legislative error, as symbolized by the on-again, off-again NOx controversy involving used-car smog-control devices.
- Statewide land-use planning presents major problems for local government and property owners; a freeze on prime agricultural land may be coming, but it can't be done without local decision-making.
- Medi-Cal is in immediate need of strong medicine.
- And then there is no-fault insurance and no-fault insurance, and *Serrano, Serrano, Serrano.*

These are among the many tough problems for which many a legislator will be looking to Brown's responses for an answer to the question: Did his inaugural brevity signal command or evasion?

For now, Brown must be given high marks for his first few weeks in office; I think he recognizes that these times won't tolerate a glut of "beautiful people programs", high-table media events, or governmental self-indulgence. He has made a good start toward dispelling that popular image of "those bumpkins in Sacramento" perhaps best characterized by our new controller's self-parodying inaugural remark to Treasurer Unruh: "We made it, Jess! The money is ours!" Now, if we can just get our Governor to laugh at that line.

This Republican hopes that he'll learn to laugh, and that the happy ironies of the first days of Governor Jerry Brown will continue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some lessons for the aspiring politician

By JEFFREY HAMERLING and LINDA BOND

Four years have passed since the 26th Amendment gave 18-year-olds the right to vote. Students, who comprise over 40 percent of California's young voters, and who vote as a bloc, made an impact on state and local elections in 1972 and again in the 1974 primary. In 1972, three Democrats, with the help of students, captured Assembly seats previously held by Republicans. In June 1974, student votes were decisive in Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey's narrow election victory. Yet, until last November, the student bloc vote had yet to provide the critical margin for a statewide candidate or issue.

A survey of student voting by the UC Student Lobby indicates that Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. may owe his victory edge to college and university students. The survey, which covered more than 75 campus precincts and 20,000 students, revealed that 71 percent of the students voted for Brown, compared to 23 percent for Republican Houston I. Flournoy. In the general election, Brown received 50.2 percent of the votes cast, compared to 47.3 percent for Flournoy. Only half of the more than 800,000 registered students actually turned out to vote on November 5th. Even so, they provided Brown with an estimated 220,000 net votes; his margin of victory was only 178,000.

Brown's success in student districts exceeded the expectations of many student leaders. In last June's primary election, the candidate finished a distant second in student precincts behind former Speaker Bob Moretti. Brown won pluralities at only 7 of 14 campuses surveyed. Among UC students, the candidate topped 30 percent of the vote at only one campus, and averaged about 20 percent at the others. [See *CJ*, October 1974.]

Low turnout

Nor were students quick to lend their support to Brown after his primary victory. Student presidents at the University of California gave the candidate a cool response at a two-hour meeting at the Berkeley campus, Brown's alma mater. Several newspaper accounts of the session quoted the students as saying that they were more impressed with Flournoy's stands on education issues than with the Democratic candidate who promised a change from Reagan policies. In fact, there was little difference between the two candidates on higher-education issues. Brown's heavy student vote is probably attributable to Watergate, anti-Reagan feeling among students, and Brown's liberal stands on environmental and social reform issues. Brown's support of Proposition 17 to halt construction of the New Melones high dam coincided with strong student sentiment on the issue. Over 85 percent of the students surveyed voted in favor of the proposition. Flournoy opposed the measure. In addition, Brown's outspoken support of lessening criminal penalities for marijuana usage, and his commitment to sign labor legislation for farm workers struck responsive chords among many college students. (In 1972, 76 percent of the students surveyed favored Proposition 19 to "de-criminalize" marijuana, and 80 percent voted against an initiative that would have limited unionization of California farm-workers.)

Although Brown's positions on social issues were enough to win student votes once students arrived at the polls, the Brown candidacy did not inspire a heavy student turnout. In fact, the turnout in student precincts was the poorest since 18-year-olds were given the right to vote. A look at precinct lists indicates that about 46 percent of registered students showed up at the polls, compared to a statewide average for all voters of 63 percent. (In 1972, over 72 percent of the registered students turned out, compared to a statewide voter average of 82 percent.)

Student leaders maintain, however, that precinct lists do not provide an accurate picture of student participation in statewide elections. Violet Rabaya, co-president at UC Berkeley, explained that many students — perhaps 15 percent of those registered — move after June, but their names remain on the precinct registration lists. "For example," Rabaya said, "a campus precinct comprising a dormitory unit at Berkeley reports 807 registered students, yet dormitory capacity is only 800." Adjusting for this factor would raise the student turnout figure to something closer to the statewide average.

As in previous elections, the student registration was 3-to-2 Democrat. In some Berkeley precincts, registration ran as high as 7-to-1. UC Santa Cruz students registered 8-to-1 Democrat. Here are estimated registration figures for the three segments of higher education:

	U.C. Campuses	C.S.U.C. Campuses	Private Campuses
Democratic	67.5%	65.2%	60.7%
Republican	15.8	20.1	23.3
Peace & Freedom	0.9	2.1	0.4
Other/Decline to State	15.8	12.6	15.6

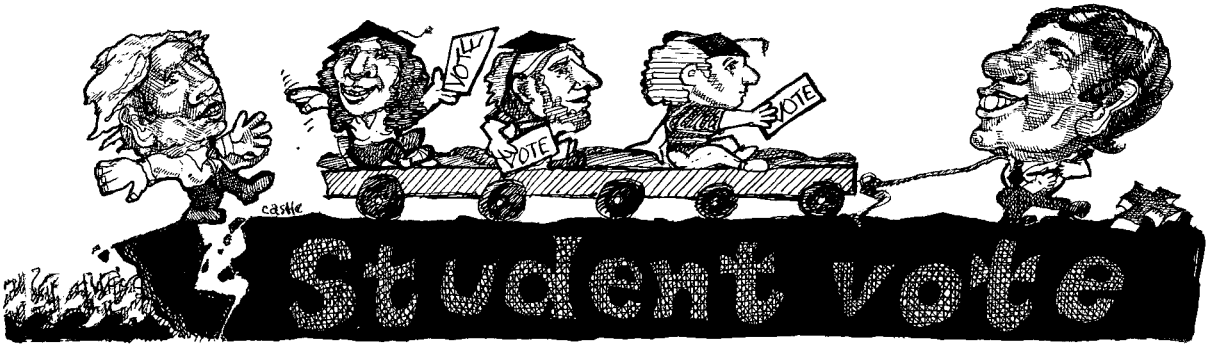
Statewide races

Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally received more than 72 percent of the student vote, about 2 percent better than Brown. In the controller's race, students demonstrated that they will not always flock to the Democratic candidate, despite their tendency to register with that party. Democrat Assemblyman Ken Cory received only 52 percent of the student vote, while Republican Assemblyman William Bagley got 37 percent and won pluralities at UC campuses at Berkeley, Davis and Irvine, at Stanford and at the University of San Francisco. (Defeated Republican state Senator Craig Biddle outpolled his Democratic opponent, Bob Presley, among Riverside students.) Third-party candidates made their best showing in the controller contest, with 11 percent of the student vote.

Bagley's pluralities at Berkeley and Cal State Sonoma

The authors are co-directors of the UC Student Lobby.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



suggest the potential power of a campus newspaper's election coverage and endorsements. The *Daily Californian* at Berkeley broke tradition by endorsing Bagley, the Republican candidate; Berkeley students, who voted 76.1 percent for Brown and 81.2 percent for Dymally gave 46.2 percent of their votes to Bagley and only 43.4 percent to Cory. At Sonoma, the campus paper endorsed Brown and Dymally, but made no endorsement for controller. Sonoma students voted 68 percent and 63 percent for the top ticket-holders, while only 48 percent selected Cory for controller, 23 percent voted for Bagley, and 27 percent favored third-party candidates.

The student vote did have a significant impact on at least two Assembly races:

- Assemblyman Ed Z'berg was probably returned to his 4th District seat because of an almost 2-to-1 margin in UC Davis precincts. Z'berg's district-wide average against Republican Mike Abernathy was only 50.5 percent. His victory margin of 4,234 votes was about the net vote he received from the student precincts.
- In Santa Barbara's 35th Assembly District, which includes the student voters of Isla Vista, Democrat Gary Hart faced a close contest against Republican Tim Terry. The seat was vacated by Republican Don MacGillivray, who ran unsuccessfully for the state Senate. When he ran against MacGillivray in 1972, Hart received 96.2 percent of the Isla Vista vote, and came within 2,000 votes of unseating the conservative incumbent. In 1974, students gave Hart 84.6 percent of their votes — and most of his 4,096-vote edge.

The strongest display of student unity occurred at UC Santa Cruz, where 98 percent of the students voted for Democratic challenger Julian Camacho over Republican Congressman Burt Talcott (16th District). A heavier student turnout might have narrowed Talcott's 2,066-vote victory margin.

Propositions

Not surprisingly, students, especially those attending the University of California, supported Proposition 4, reducing the terms of University of California regents from 16 years to 12 and revising the board's membership. It averaged a 86.6 percent favorable vote in campus precincts UC students voted for the proposition by a margin of nearly 9-to-1.

By a less dramatic margin, students favored Proposition 16, giving the Legislature rather than the regents the power to determine the level of tuition at UC. Statewide, 59.4 percent of the students surveyed supported the measure, though the vote difference between campuses was marked. The margin ranged from 78.7 percent of Santa Cruz students supporting the proposition to 59.1 percent of Riverside students opposing it. California voters went 57 percent against Proposition 16.

Student votes helped determine the fate of Proposition 11, eliminating masculine terms in the state Constitution; it won with only 50.4 percent of the state's voters but 70 percent of the students favoring the measure. A student bloc of 160,000 votes probably provided the victory margin.

Some lessons

What lessons do the results of the 1974 student vote survey suggest to future California office-seekers?

- Don't take the student vote for granted. Liberal Democrats: Invest heavily in campus voter registration and turnout drives; you will get a good return on your investment. Moderate Republicans: Do not hesitate to court students; you may well profit from the tendency of many students to vote as independents.
- Support environmental measures.
- Favor measures providing equal opportunities for women and minorities.
- Seek the endorsement of the campus press.

For further details . . .

A more detailed description of this survey of the student vote, *The California Student Vote, 1974*, is available for $2 from the UC Student Lobby, 926 J St., suite 216, Sacramento 95814.

CONGRESS, continued from page 49

younger members when he grabbed off Holifield's prestigious spot on the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. At a time when political longevity is no longer a basic virtue, his power is almost entirely the product of seniority. He also lost some ground in the delegation when he backed Sisk against Burton and delivered the loser's nominating speech in the caucus.

However, Moss' problems — and opportunities — only point up the enviable predicament of Democrats wallowing in new-found power. In sharp contrast, the state's shrunken GOP delegation confronts only powerlessness — in the House as well as in its own party councils. Their ranks reduced from 19 to 15 by last November's elections, California Republicans face the dismal prospect of spending two years on the legislative sidelines while a Republican chief executive presides over a deteriorating economy. Heavily tilted to the right, the state contingent is outside the mainstream of what is left of the Republican party in the House, which turned more moderate after the defeat of many conservatives last November.

A month after the elections, three California Republicans ran for party leadership posts. All three lost. Charles Wiggins of West Covina failed in an effort to unseat GOP Conference Chairman John Anderson of Illinois, the party's leading moderate spokesman. Jerry Pettis of Loma Linda lost to Robert Michel of Illinois for whip. And John Rousselot of San Marino was beaten by Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan for the chairmanship of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee.

Assessing these defeats, a veteran California GOP lawmaker remarked: "Our guys tend to be on the fringes when it comes to party matters. They also haven't shown a sustained drive and ambition in leadership contests."

This is hardly a criticism that fits Californians on the other side of the aisle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A reversal on buses and school integration

In November 1972, California voters approved by a 63-37 margin the so-called Wakefield anti-busing initiative prohibiting the assignment of pupils to schools on the basis of race; they also repealed guidelines for achieving racial balance in the schools. In a unanimous decision, the state Supreme Court declared the main provision of the initiative to be unconstitutional, but upheld the guidelines-repeal section as merely a statement of preference for neighborhood schools.

The validity of Proposition 21 was brought before the court in two Santa Barbara cases involving plans seeking to achieve racial balance through changes in student assignments. The court, in a decision written by Justice Raymond L. Sullivan, pointed to a United States Supreme Court decision that struck down a North Carolina measure almost identical to the Wakefield initiative. In doing so, the federal court declared: "To forbid . . . all assignments on the basis of race would deprive school authorities of the one tool absolutely essential to fulfillment of their constitutional obligation to eliminate dual school systems." The justices found that the remaining portions of the proposition could be upheld because a public expression of policy in favor of neighborhood schools could not limit the legal obligations of school districts to meet racial requirements of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

The state court used an unusual procedure in employing the Santa Barbara cases as vehicles for the decision. The cases were actually filed on other grounds prior to passage of the initiative, and Proposition 21 was enacted while the cases were before the high court. The justices agreed to consider the legal validity of the measure because if it were found constitutional it could invalidate the Santa Barbara integration plans [*CJ*, October 1973].

Limits of confidence

According to the plaintiffs, Prosenjit Poddar confided his intention to kill a former girlfriend, Tatiana Tarasoff, to a student-health psychologist at the University of California in Berkeley. The victim's parents claim that the psychologist asked the campus police to detain Poddar for psychiatric examination, and that the police picked him up but released him when Poddar appeared rational. Neither UC therapists nor the police warned Tatiana or her parents. The girl returned to Berkeley after spending the summer of 1969 in South America and was killed by Poddar on October 27th. Tatiana's parents sued the therapists who saw Poddar, the police officers who contacted him, and the University of California.

In a 5-2 decision that has stunned the psychiatric community, the state Supreme Court ruled that a doctor or therapist who knows (or ought to know) that a patient might inflict harm on another person has a legal obligation to warn the intended victim. Under such circumstances, the court found, in *Tarasoff* v. *Regents*, the patient-therapist code of confidentiality would not be breached. Justice Mathew Tobriner, who wrote the majority opinion, emphasized: "The protective privilege ends where the public peril begins." Signing the opinion were Chief Justice Donald Wright and Justices Sullivan, Stanley Mosk and Louis Burke (sitting on assignment).

Justice William P. Clark, joined by Justice Marshall McComb, filed a dissenting opinion charging that the majority failed "to realistically evaluate the devastating impact their new duty will have on the field of mental health — and the repercussions resulting to society." Clark predicted that the decision will cripple the use and effectiveness of psychiatrists.

Taking the initiative

A major environmentalist tool — use of the initiative process to adopt zoning restrictions — was upheld in a 4-3 decision. In two cases, the court's majority rejected the argument that the initiative process violated the due-process clause of the federal Constitution by not providing for "notice and hearing" to be given to all affected property-owners. One of the anti-growth measures limits building heights in a San Diego coastal zone; the other restricts residential development in parts of San Jose having crowded schools.

Justice Tobriner, author of the majority opinion, claimed that due process requires notice and hearing only in quasi-judicial and adjudicatory settings — not when general legislation is being considered. He was joined by Chief Justice Wright, Sullivan and Court of Appeal Justice Gordon Files (sitting on assignment).

The dissent, written by Burke, emphasized that the initiative process fails to provide adequate constitutional protection to property-owners. Burke also pointed out that state general law requires that notice and hearing be given affected property-owners in zoning cases. He was joined by McComb and Clark.

Cops and bank records

The court ruled unanimously that the bank records of an individual or a business cannot be seized or examined by law-enforcement officers without a warrant or court process. Justice Mosk wrote the opinion in the case of *Burrows* v. *San Bernardino Superior Court*.

Wesley S. Burrows, a San Bernardino attorney, was charged with grand theft after a bank provided a deputy sheriff with copies of Burrows' bank statements and financial transactions. The bank had provided the information voluntarily and without legal process. The trial court ruled the evidence admissible, and Burrows appealed.

Mosk said that citizens reasonably expect that matters they reveal to a bank will be used only for internal banking purposes. The court declared that individuals provide banks with information only on a voluntary basis because it is impossible to participate in contemporary life without maintaining a bank account. "In the course of such dealings, a depositor reveals many aspects of his personal affairs, opinions, habits and associations," wrote Mosk. "Indeed, the totality of bank records provides a virtual current biography." Unless these records are kept confidential, the opinion said, the door is opened to "a vast and unlimited range of very real abuses of police power."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California *NEWSBRIEFS*

State Senate election set March 4 — lower house vote in February

The 29th senatorial district seat vacated by Mervyn Dymally's election as lieutenant governor will be filled by the Watts-area voters March 4th. If no candidate wins a majority, a runoff will be held April 1st, Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. said in announcing the special election.

First to throw a hat into the ring was Assemblyman Bill Greene. His principal opponent is expected to be Kenneth S. Washington, a Los Angeles Community College District trustee who has the backing of Mayor Tom Bradley. Greene claims the support of Dymally. Both are Democrats.

On February 4th, voters in southeastern Alameda County will face a long list of candidates to fill the seat vacated by the death of Assemblyman Carlos Bee, a Democrat. Here are the candidates:

Democrats. Marc Elliot, Livermore; Bill Vandenburgh Hayward; Floyd Mori, Pleasanton; J.J. Jelincic, Hayward; Leo Howell, Hayward; Tom Kendall, Hayward; Doug Morrison, Hayward; George Glavor, Hayward; Joyce LeClaire, Pleasanton; Richard Oliver, Union City; Arnold Thompson, Hayward; Rudy Treviso, Hayward.

Republicans. George Oakes, Hayward; S. Guy Puccio, Castro Valley.

AIP. Lonnie Moore, Hayward.

Puccio was defeated by Bee in November. Oakes is former mayor of Hayward. The leading Democrats seem to be Vandenburg, dean at Hayward State; Elliot, Bee's former aide; and Oliver.

State Bar adopts revised code covering lawyers' conduct

On January 1st, new regulations governing the professional behavior of attorneys took effect — the first complete revision of the Rules of Professional Conduct since they were adopted in 1928. Violation of the rules can lead to disbarment, suspension or reproval.

The code for the first time refers to "unconscionable" fees, describing them as being "so exorbitant and wholly disproportionate to the services performed as to shock the conscience of lawyers of ordinary prudence practicing in the same community." [See "The State Bar and its new insiders," *CJ*, November 1974.]

Unemployment hits 9% in California as recession deepens

Nine percent of California's workforce could not find employment in December, the Employment Development Department reported last month. California's rate of unemployment led the national average of 7.1 percent by nearly two percentage points, a margin of difference that has held steady for a number of months. [See "The gloomy economic outlook," *CJ*, December 1974.]

Total employment in December reached 8,361,000 persons, EDD reported, and 787,600 persons were out of work. This was an increase of 42,300 persons over the November total. Nationally, more than six million Americans were unemployed and this was the first time since 1940 that so many job-seekers had been unable to land work.

Commissioner Payne frets over coverage for medical malpractice

Only four insurance companies now write medical malpractice policies, said state Insurance Commissioner Gleeson L. Payne last month as he prepared to leave office February 1st. "No company has made money on individual medical malpractice policies in the last 20 years," Payne told a Los Angeles *Times* reporter. He predicted that a number of doctors will have a hard time renewing their malpractice coverage, and suggested that the state may have to step in by providing some form of no-fault insurance. "In malpractice now," he said, "too much money is going to the attorneys and to the courts. The amount actually getting to the injured party is minimal. The system of delivery eats up all the dough." [See "Surgeon's sickness: medical malpractice," *CJ*, October 1974.]

Birth rate climbs as state's supply of young women grows

The number of live births registered in California last year was 305,000, or nearly 7,000 higher than in 1973, state Health Director William Mayer reported. "Women in the child-bearing ages . . . who were born during the baby boom of the 1950s could be the reason for the upsurge," he suggested. Demographer Nels Rasmussen of the Department of Finance concurred. "You can get a mistaken impression from this figure," he said of the increased number of births. "It does not mean that women are bearing more children but that more women are bearing children."

Teachers' association spent $327,000 in 1974 as campaign donations

The California Teachers Association put nearly a third of a million dollars last year behind politicians it considered sympathetic to its aims. These goals include, according to a spokesman, Leonard Kreidt, obtaining collective-bargaining rights for teachers, keeping school finance adequately high to compensate for inflation, protecting teacher pensions against the rising costs of living, and obtaining adequate due-process rights for teachers in dismissal actions.

In all, the CTA contributed $327,000 to political campaigns. It made $25,000 gifts to Governor Brown, Lieutenant-Governor Mervyn Dymally, Secretary of State March Fong Eu, and Treasurer Jesse M. Unruh. More than 50 of the 80 Assemblymen received gifts from the teachers, ranging from $250 to $10,450 (in the case of Speaker Leo McCarthy). The list heavily favors Democrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWSMAKERS

Lining up to take on Tunney

Next year's Republican primary for the right to oppose Democratic U.S. Senator **John Tunney** may be a crowded affair. Already in the race is **Robert H. Finch**, former lieutenant governor and Nixon cabinet member. Finch, 49, now a Los Angeles attorney, announced early to get commitments from GOP leaders before prospective opponents could get their campaigns off the ground. Among others mentioned as being possible primary candidates are Representatives **Alphonzo Bell, Barry Goldwater Jr.** and **Paul McCloskey**, state Senator **Dennis Carpenter,** Los Angeles County Assessor **Phil Watson**, and National Committeeman **William Banowsky**, president of Pepperdine University. . . . Two state senators, Democrat **George Moscone** and Republican **Milton Marks,** were the first to announce that they will run to succeed San Francisco Mayor **Joseph Alioto** (who is ineligible to run for a third term).

Make way for another member of the Brown family in California politics: **Kathy Brown Rice**, sister of the Governor and daughter of former Governor **Pat Brown**, indicated that she intends to run for the Los Angeles City Board of Education. She is now a member of the county youth commission. Brown senior, meanwhile, was named as an unpaid consultant to the state Economic Development Commission by Lieutenant Governor **Mervyn Dymally**. The former Governor, on a Capitol visit, remarked that he did not like his official portrait hanging in the building and suggested that a new one be painted. Son Jerry declined to put funds for a new portrait in the budget, however . . . . The man the Governor defeated, Republican **Houston I. Flournoy**, accepted a post as a professor of government at the University of Southern California.

Another candidate defeated in 1974, Democratic treasurer hopeful **Charles Haskins** of Sacramento, was named chief deputy to the man who won the job — former Assembly Speaker **Jesse M. Unruh.** Haskins is a career employee of the treasurer's office. . . . The new state controller, **Ken Cory**, was elected chairman of both the State Lands Commission and the Franchise Tax Board. . . . The state Senate Rules Committee denied a request by Senator **Arlen Gregorio** to lease a Volkswagen as his official state car, noting that senators may lease only American-made vehicles at state expense.

A former executive of the California Teachers Association, **Scott Fitz-Randolph,** was named state director of the political reform organization, Common Cause. . . . **Harry L. Hufford** was promoted from acting to permanent administrative officer of Los Angeles County. He succeeds **Arthur Will,** who resigned in August to take a similar post in Contra Costa County [*CJ*, December 1974] . . . . **J. William Orozco** defeated **Alice Ogle** in a hotly contested election for the Republican chairmanship of Los Angeles County.

Selected government reports

ENVIRONMENT

Tax Policy for California Timberlands; by Dean A. Cromwell, Kenneth S. Fowler, and Bruce E. Krumland, assisted by the School of Forestry and Conservation at UC Berkeley, and by Dr. William L.M. McKillop. June 1974. A study for the state Assembly by the National Institute for Applied Research, examining current forest-tax policies and systems, and proposing alternatives and suggestions for implementing them. 39 pp. Available free from the Assembly Committee on Resources and Land Use, State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

Final Summary of Selected Legislation Relating to the Environment, Natural Resources and Wildlife Enacted During 1974; prepared by the Senate Committee on Natural Resources and Wildlife. 106 pp. Available Room 2203, State Capitol.

Land Use Regulation for Urban Growth Control: Selected Legal Principles; by Carl J. Seneker II, Institute of Governmental Affairs, UC Davis, 95616. Nov. 1974. A compendium of urban growth-control and related legal issues. 37 pp. ($2.50)

Economic Regulation and Development Goals: The California Coastal Initiative; by Janell Anderson, Institute of Governmental Affairs, UC Davis. A monograph analyzing the effect of the California Coastal Initiative and the political environment of its commissions, 131 pp. Available from the Institute. ($3.50)

Environmental Voting Index 1974; by Legislative Birdwatchers, Inc., 1225 Eighth St., Sacramento 95814. Legislators' votes and status of environmental bills at the end of the 1973-74 session. 23 pp, with charts. ($2.50)

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

State Government: the Journal of State Affairs; published quarterly by the Council of State Governments, a forum for discussion of current problems at the state level. The Autumn 1974 issue contains articles on election campaigns, the Alaska pipeline, the energy crisis, strip-mining and tuition problems. 63 pp. Write State Government, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, Ky. 40511. (Annual rate $7, single copies $2)

Legislative Candidates and Campaign Spending in California; by John C. Greenwood, Institute of Governmental Affairs, UC Davis 95616. Oct. 1974. A detailed examination of the allocation of campaign funds by candidates, both for the House and for the California Legislature. 82 pp. ($3.50)

Gubernatorial Transition in the States; by the Council of State Governments, Iron Works Pike, Lexington, Ky. 40511. March 1974. A survey of programs designed to ease the transition of ever-increasing gubernatorial burdens in 40 states. 24 pp. ($2.50)

CORRECTIONS

Corrections Magazine; published by the Correctional Information Service, Inc., and supported by the Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services of the American Bar Association. A new bi-monthly magazine covering America's prison, correctional and rehabilitative systems. Subscription rates vary. Contact Circulation Manager, Correctional Information Service, Inc., 300 E. 44th St., New York, 10017.

FINANCE

Recasting the Budgetary Process; by Michael Babunakis, published by Urban Observatory of San Diego, 202 C St., San Diego 92101. Aug. 1974. Results of research by San Diego's legislative analyst, based on a contract between HUD and the National League of Cities, covering community-program budgeting, and focusing upon independent budget analysis as utilized by San Diego and the State of California. 286 pp. Available from the Observatory. ($5)

MISCELLANEOUS

feed/back: The Journalism Report and Review for Northern California; a new quarterly published by the Journalism Department of San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Ave., San Francisco 94132; B.H. Liebes and Lynn Ludlow, co-editors. Vol. I, No. 1, issued for October 1974, includes an article on Capitol correspondents by Bruce Keppel, *California Journal* managing editor. Subscriptions available from the department, $5 per year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

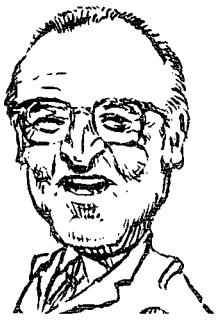
A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE...

By Lou Cannon

Brown on Brown

Pat Brown slipped in and out of Washington the other night, speaking words of praise for his austere governor son while practicing the genial back-slapping politics that marked his own era in Sacramento.

With the assistance of a popular hair-dye formula and the freedom that comes to a retired politician turned lawyer-lobbyist, Brown now looks a decade younger than his 69 years. He presided happily at a reception for California congressmen that was co-hosted by Representative John E. Moss of Sacramento. "Bernice and I were talking about it the other day, and we agreed that we had never seen anyone grow so much in a year," Brown said of California's present governor. He forecast that his son would perform well as governor but described him as being "on the shy side" and never at ease at big parties.



Edmund G. Brown Sr.

The elder Brown, in Washington on legal business the same day President Ford delivered his State of the Union message, was clearly very much at ease. He warmly greeted old friends, new congressmen, reporters and such prospective Democratic presidential hopefuls as Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana. They were there at the invitation of Brown, who seemed as interested in his son's future career as in his present one.

In this relaxed company Brown expansively told familial stories about his own days in Sacramento and about the 1974 campaign of his son. "I used to tell Jerry I was going to make a speech and say that 'if you elect Jerry, you'll get two governors for the price of one,' " he said. "Jerry didn't like that, and neither did my wife. She called it a 'low sense of humor.' "

Low humor or not, it was a jolly evening for the man who once inflicted on Richard Nixon his most decisive political defeat.

* * *

Both of California's United States senators attended the Brown-Moss reception. And Senator John V. Tunney seemed almost as confident in looking ahead at his 1976 election campaign as re-elected Alan Cranston did in looking back at 1974. A year ago Tunney was dispirited by divorce and by indications in his own polls that he was slipping in standing with the voters back home. Now, after a congressional session in which he achieved the passage of anti-trust legislation that many of his colleagues thought was going nowhere, Tunney expresses the boundless optimism that characterized his successful campaign for the Senate against George Murphy in 1970. He also is carefully assessing the prospective field of Republican candidates and believes that Bob Finch, who has already announced, would be the toughest for him to beat.

Along with a lot of other people, however, Tunney believes that Finch faces difficulty in his own primary if a well-known Republican runs against him. Tunney makes no secret of preferring Republican Barry Goldwater Jr. as his opponent, and rates him strongly in any GOP primary. Also on the Tunney list of prospective opponents: San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson and Pepperdine University President William Banowsky.

* * *

When Martin Salditch of the Riverside *Press-Enterprise* moved from Sacramento to open a bureau for his newspaper in Washington, Representative George Brown Jr. sent him a tongue-in-cheek letter saying that he had canceled junkets to Paris, Athens and other attractive destinations in anticipation of Salditch's arrival. Other California congressmen would have been well advised to heed Brown's apocryphal warning. One of Salditch's January stories out of Washington did indeed contain the first report on an unusual congressional trip being taken by six Republican House members, three of them from Southern California.

The trip in question is a two-week journey to South Africa for the congressmen and their wives, paid for entirely by South African businessmen and with the unofficial sponsorship and backing of the nation's rigidly segregationist government. As Salditch pointed out, the trip is being financed privately because the Constitution prohibits such gifts from foreign governments.

In line for the free ride were Representatives Bob Wilson of San Diego, Clair Burgener of Rancho Santa Fe and William Ketchum of Bakersfield, as well as Representatives Norman Lent of New York, G. William Whitehurst of Virginia and Philip Crane of Illinois, who is known to favor friendlier relations with the South African government.

Burgener denied that the venture, which will cost $2,300 per couple in air fare alone, is a junket. He called it "a goodwill trip". But there is a serious question of who is getting the goodwill, and at what price. A letter from one of the South African sponsors to Burgener said: "It is our belief that only through personal contact and first-hand experience will you be able to understand the complexities of our situation in Southern Africa and be able to evaluate the strategic position of our country and her potential value as an ally of the U.S.A."

None of the congressmen is going on committee business. All will miss two weeks of the new session in which they were elected to serve. It seems at best a dubious example for a nation that was supposed to be experiencing a new and better political morality.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Other California Journal

Television viewers throughout California now are able to watch the video edition of *California Journal* on a network of 10 public broadcasting stations. The TV "California Journal" features reports and analyses on state political and governmental issues, prepared and produced by the staffs of the magazine and KVIE-Channel 6 in Sacramento. The program is scheduled to be shown at the following times on these stations:

Sacramento – KVIE-Channel 6, Tuesdays, 9:30 p.m. (plus repeats).
Los Angeles – KCET-Channel 28, Fridays, 3 p.m.
San Francisco – KQED-Channel 9, Saturdays, 6:30 p.m.
San Diego – KPBS-Channel 15, Thursdays, 7 p.m.
Eureka – KEET-Channel 13, Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
Huntington Beach – KOCE-Channel 50, starting this month.
Redding – KIXE-Channel 9, Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
San Bernardino – KVCR-Channel 24, Thursdays 10 p.m., Tuesdays, 2:30 p.m.
San Jose – KTEH-Channel 54, Fridays, 7:30 p.m.
San Mateo – KCSM-Channel 14, Thursdays, 8:30 p.m.

Times are subject to change. Check your newspaper's television guide to confirm the day and hour of "California Journal" in your area.

Where we all think alike, no one thinks very much. — Walter Lippmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED